

11QARAMAICJOB

*The Qumran Targum as
an ancient Aramaic version of Job*

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11QAramaicJob: The Qumran *Targum* as an ancient Aramaic version of Job

The first point of departure for the present thesis is the observation that the Aramaic translation of Job found at Qumran (11Q10) sits uncomfortably in the genre of the 'classical' *targum* despite the original editors' classification of the text as '11QtargumJob'. A second stimulus for the study arises from the author's review of scholarly discussion on 11Q10 in which its comparison with the Targum and Syriac versions of Job has been either anecdotal or extremely limited in scope. In light of the obvious relationship between these two observations, and in the hope that the investigation of the latter will shed light on the former, the author attempts to take up the question of the classification of the Qumran text through a synoptic comparison of 11Q10 with the Targum and Syriac versions.

Moving beyond static definitions of literalness, questions of dating and the dependence of the Syriac on the targum tradition, the author makes use of recent work in Targumic and Syriac studies which has attempted to come to grips with issues of genre through an assessment of modes of representation and the formal treatment of the Hebrew text. Having noted that preliminary investigations of the relationship between these Aramaic versions have been limited to a study of addition and substitution, the present investigation attempts to assess the respective translators' attitudes toward the Hebrew text through an analysis of omission and transposition. Following on from these investigations, the Aramaic versions' treatment of that smallest of Hebrew lexemes—the *waw* conjunction—is analysed as a further index by which the attitudes of the various translators toward their Hebrew source may be assessed.

Having investigated the attitude of the respective translators to their source text, the author locates his findings both within the context of the Qumran translation's classification as *targum* and, more broadly, within the study of the Aramaic versions. The author concludes that, in terms of its representation of the Hebrew text, the Aramaic translation from Qumran shares certain fundamental features with the Peshitta of Job rather than with its nominal cousin, the Rabbinic Targum of Job.

I, David J. Shepherd, declare that the following work has been composed by me and that the research within is mine and the work of none other.

Signature: _____

_____ Date: June 30 2000

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D.S.

ABBREVIATIONS

AAL	<i>AFRO-ASIATIC LINGUISTICS</i>
ALUOS	<i>ANNUAL OF LEEDS UNIVERSITY ORIENTAL SCHOOL</i>
ASTI	<i>ANNUAL OF THE SWEDISH THEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE</i>
AROR	<i>ARCHIV ORIENTALNÍ</i>
AJBA	<i>AUSTRALIAN JOURNAL OF BIBLICAL ARCHAEOLOGY</i>
BIB	<i>BIBLICA</i>
BZ	<i>BIBLISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT</i>
CBQ	<i>CATHOLIC BIBLICAL QUARTERLY</i>
FOLOR	<i>FOLIA ORIENTALIA</i>
JAB	<i>JOURNAL FOR THE ARAMAIC BIBLE</i>
JSJ	<i>JOURNAL FOR THE STUDY OF JUDAISM</i>
JSOT	<i>JOURNAL FOR THE STUDY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT</i>
JSP	<i>JOURNAL FOR THE STUDY OF THE PSEUDEPIGRAPHA</i>
JBL	<i>JOURNAL OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE</i>
JJS	<i>JOURNAL OF JEWISH STUDIES</i>
JNES	<i>JOURNAL OF NEAR EASTERN STUDIES</i>
JSS	<i>JOURNAL OF SEMITIC STUDIES</i>
JAOS	<i>JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY</i>
JThS	<i>JOURNAL OF THEOLOGICAL STUDIES</i>
NTCS	<i>NEWSLETTER FOR TARGUMIC AND COGNATE STUDIES</i>
OBO	<i>ORBIS BIBLICUS ET ORIENTALIS</i>
RSR	<i>RECHERCHES DES SCIENCE RELIGIEUSE</i>
RHR	<i>REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS</i>
RQ	<i>REVUE DE QUMRAN</i>
SJOT	<i>SCANDINAVIAN JOURNAL OF THE OLD TESTAMENT</i>
SEM	<i>SEMITICA</i>
SBLDS	<i>SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE DISSERTATION SERIES</i>
SSL	<i>STUDIES IN SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LINGUISTICS</i>
TSAJ	<i>TEXTE UND STUDIEN ZUM ANTIKEN JUDENTUM</i>
VT	<i>VETUS TESTAMENTUM</i>
VTSup	<i>Supplements to VETUS TESTAMENTUM</i>
ZDMG	<i>ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLÄNDISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT</i>
ZAH	<i>ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR ALTHEBRAISTIK</i>
ZAW	<i>ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR DIE ALTTESTAMENTLICHE WISSENSCHAFT</i>

INTRODUCTION

When taking up the subject of Job in the targumic tradition it has become standard operating procedure for scholars to turn to discussions of 'targum' in the early rabbinic literature¹. For students of the Job targumic tradition, one passage in particular has commanded scholarly attention:

Said R.Yose, 'There was the case involving Abba Halapta, who went to Rabban Gamaliel b. Rabbi in Tiberias, and found him sitting at the table of Yohanan Hannizzop, and in his hand was a scroll of Job in Aramaic translation, and he was reading in it. He said to him, "Remember Rabban Gamaliel, your father's father, who was standing on the steps of the Temple mount, and they brought before him a scroll of Job in Aramaic translation, and he said to the builders, "Store it away under a row of stones." So he too, gave orders concerning it and they stored it away.'²

With the discovery in the mid 1950's, of a so-called 'targum' of Job³ in Cave 11 near the site of Khirbet Qumran and accompanying suggestions of its antiquity, the

¹ See recently C. Mangan, *The Targum of Job* AramBib 15 (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1987) 5; R. Weiss, *התרגום הארמי לספר איוב* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 1979): Chapter 1.

² J. Neusner (transl.) *Talmud of Babylonia* IID: Shab 16:1. (1984) 97. Text:

אמר רבי יוסי: מעשה באבא חלפתא שהלך אצל רבן גמליאל בריבי לטבריא ומצאו שהיה יושב על שלחנו של יוחנן הנזוף ובידו ספר איוב תרגום והוא קורא בו אמר לו זכור אני ברבן גמליאל אבי אביך שהיה עומד על גב מעלה בהר הבית והביאו לפניו ספר איוב תרגום ואמר לבנאי שקעהי תחת הנדבך אף הוא צוה עליו וגנזו רבי יוסי בר יהודה אומר עריבה של טיט כפו עליו.

(bT Shab 16:1, L. Goldschmidt, *Der babylonische Talmud* [Berlin: Calvary, 1897])

Passages in yT Shab 16:1 (transl. J Neusner, 1991) and tT Shab 13:2 (transl. J Neusner, 1981) seem to preserve a substantially similar tradition, however the account preserved in the Babylonian tradition is the fullest of the three.

³ J.P.M. van der Ploeg, and A.S. van der Woude *Le Targum de Job de la Grotte XI de Qumrân* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1971) (hereafter *Editio princeps*).

temptation to identify the newly-discovered text with the Aramaic translation mentioned in the *baraita* was considerable. The original editors in fact entertained ‘une sérieuse possibilité’⁴ that their text was indeed the one referred to by Gamaliel in the passage, while scholars since have resisted this temptation with varying degrees of success⁵. In fact, the information at our disposal regarding the targum of the *baraita* on the one hand, and the targum of Cave 11 on the other is basically complementary.

The passages preserved in the talmudic tradition provide us with a brief account of the immuring of a targum in Jerusalem around the turn of the era. Despite supplying the modern reader with various details regarding the suppression of this ‘targum’, including the manner in which it was disposed of, the tradition provides no clue as to the nature of the text itself or the reason for its suppression. On the other hand, while we possess a sizeable portion of the Cave 11 Job ‘targum’ in a reasonable state of preservation, the events surrounding its storage there, and its status vis-à-vis the Jewish communities of late Second Temple Judaism, remain shrouded in mystery.

While the ancient origins of this text are obscure, its history since its discovery in 1956 is less so. According to the Dutch editors, the scroll was found by Bedouin in what became known as Cave 11, before being acquired, along with the rest of the finds, by the Palestine Archaeological Museum in Jerusalem.⁶ Plans to recoup some of the costs incurred by the Museum through the sale of the documents to foreign institutions were thwarted when the Jordanian Government in 1961, declared the contents of the Dead Sea caves to be the property of the Kingdom of Jordan. In the end, these costs

⁴*Editio princeps*, 8.

⁵ See J. Fitzmyer ‘The First Century Targum of Job from Qumran Cave XI’ in *A Wandering Aramean: Collected Aramaic Essays* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979) 161-182 [originally published as *idem.*, ‘The Targum of Job from Qumran Cave XI’ *CBQ* 36 (1974) 503-24] (esp. 166) for a succinct discussion of the case for and against.

⁶ The respective editors issued their own communications regarding the character and general features of 11Q^gJob in French, German and later English--J.P.M. van der Ploeg, ‘Le targum de Job de la grotte 11 de Qumran, Première communication’ *Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen afd. Letterkunde*. (Amsterdam: 1962); A.S. van der Woude, ‘Das Hiob Targum aus Qumran Hohle XI’ *Congress Volume, Bonn 1962 Vetus Testamentum Supps* 9 (1963); B. Thiering (transl.) ‘The Targum of Job from Qumran Cave Eleven,’ *AJBA* 1 (1969) 19-29.

were made good through the sale, not of the documents themselves, but rather the exclusive rights to study and publish the texts. These were acquired in December of 1961 by the Royal Netherlands Academy for Science in Amsterdam and by the Spring of the following year the editors had reported the results of their investigation before the Academy. It would be another decade before the *editio princeps*, produced with the collaboration of B. Jongeling, and published by Brill in the format of the DJD series, would appear.⁷

Observation of the plates accompanying the *editio princeps* confirm that the state of the manuscript as preserved leaves much to be desired.⁸ B. Zuckerman in his unpublished dissertation on 11Q^tgJob gives a useful summary of the challenges involved in reading the physical manuscript itself. Interestingly he casts a measure of doubt on the assumed advantages of examining the manuscript first hand. He suggests that the photographic record of the text, while in some ways inferior to naked eye observation, provides superior clarity and legibility due to the use of infra-red film.⁹ The processes of hydrolysis and oxidation have taken their toll on the leather on which the text is written to the extent that of the presumably complete original, we now possess a single roll measuring 109 x 4-6cm, and over 30 fragments of varying sizes and states of preservation.¹⁰ The state of preservation does of course bear directly on the textual material at our disposal and there seems little reason to doubt the editors' conclusion that of the original Aramaic text of Job, we now possess approximately 15%.¹¹ If this percentage seems lamentably low, most scholars would also agree with the editors that the section preserved constitutes '...une part notable,' containing as it does an Aramaic text corresponding not only to the latter dialogues and the so-called 'Voice from the

⁷ *Editio princeps*.

⁸ *Editio princeps*, 100-131. The photographs of the *editio princeps* may be compared with those included in the recent joint Brill-OUP publication of the CD-ROM edition of the Dead Sea Scrolls, (ed. Timothy Lim) (Brill-OUP, 1997) and those provided in F. Martinez *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 11 Discoveries in the Judaean Desert 23* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998).

⁹ B.E. Zuckerman, *The Process of Translation in 11Q^tgJOB: A Preliminary Study* (unpublished PhD dissertation [Yale], 1980) 13.

¹⁰ *Editio princeps*, 1. Now also, see F. Martinez *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 11*.

Whirlwind' but also to the Epilogue.¹² In general, 11Q10 seems to confirm the order and structure of the text pointed by the Massorettes, with one notable exception being the possible preservation of a short Epilogue. While the contents of the final column are far from clear, it has been suggested that the text concludes following a rendering of MT 42:11 thereby omitting the final section of the epilogue as preserved in the Masoretic text.¹³

The question of the date of 11Q10 is one which has exercised commentators from the very beginning. Following the editors, attempts to determine the date of the text have for the most part taken two different approaches: the dating of the manuscript itself by means of palaeographical techniques and the dating of the translation through linguistic analysis. The editors, apparently assuming 70 CE as the *terminus ad quem*, proceed to classify the script of 11Q10 by means of the methodology made famous by Albright, Cross and Avigad.¹⁴ The editors' application of Cross' palaeographic criteria suggests to them a date for 11Q10 somewhere in the middle of the first century CE. Further examination and utilisation of Albright's work leads the editors to the conclusion that the script found in the scroll belongs to the first century CE and more specifically to the period which extends from 37 BCE - 70 CE (Herodian).¹⁵

While this classification of the script used in the production of the 11Q10 manuscript has gone essentially unchallenged since it was first proposed,¹⁶ Zuckerman has made use of palaeographical techniques in an attempt to shed light not on the dating of

¹¹ *Editio princeps*, 2.

¹² The various fragments contain textual material corresponding to MT Job 17:14-36:33. The small roll corresponds to, MT Job 37:10-42:11. For a list of correspondences according to column see F. Martinez *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 11*, 86. Although, for ease of comparison, textual material from 11Q10 will be cited according to the verse in the MT to which it corresponds, roman numerals will be provided to indicate column and line references when relevant.

¹³ *Editio princeps*, 87. The arguments for (vdPloeg) and against (vdWoude) the preservation of a 'short' epilogue are put forth in a rare disagreement between editors. See page 56 below for further discussion.

¹⁴ *Editio princeps*, 2-3.

¹⁵ *Editio princeps*, 2-3.

¹⁶ In fact I know of no dissenting opinion regarding the date of the script. See e.g. J. Fitzmyer 'The First Century Targum', 164; A.D. York, *A Philological and Textual Analysis of 11Q¹⁰ Job* (unpublished PhD dissertation [Cornell] 1973) 2; S.A. Kaufman, 'The Job Targum from Qumran' *JAOS* 93 (1973) 317.

the script, but rather on the dating of the *Vorlage* from which the translation was made.¹⁷ Drawing upon the work of Septuagint scholars, he investigates the possibility that ‘information may be derived about the palaeography of the *Vorlage* of a given translation [in our case 11Q10], based upon the errors one encounters in the latter...’.¹⁸ He focuses on readings in 11Q10 that seem to reflect a misreading of pairs of letters which are graphically similar and then seeks to relate the *Vorlage* of the translation to the script within which these misreadings would be most likely to occur.¹⁹ He suggests that the most compatible scripts would be those of either the late Hasmonean or Herodian periods and that therefore the *Vorlage* should probably be dated to the late 2nd/early 1st c BCE or perhaps even later. On these grounds, Zuckerman suggests further that it is probable that the translation and the production of the autograph of 11Q10 were nearly contemporaneous.²⁰

While palaeographical approaches are a welcome addition to the investigation of the date of 11Q10’s production (as opposed to its transmission), answers to the question of its dating have traditionally been sought primarily within the field of comparative linguistics. It would be wise to preface a discussion of the linguistic characterisation of 11Q10 with a summary of the methodological considerations which seem to underlie it.²¹ Proceeding from the self-evident fact that linguistic (i.e. morphological, lexical, and syntactical etc.) features of Aramaic texts vary to a greater or lesser extent in comparison with each other, a developmental chronology is established and when possible ‘anchored’ by absolute dating techniques. Various texts are then situated within this chronology according to the presence (or absence) of these diagnostic fea-

¹⁷ B.E. Zuckerman, ‘The Date of 11Q Targum Job: A Palaeographic Consideration of its *Vorlage*’ *JSP* 1 (1987) 57-78 provides a lucid summary of the difficulties involved in dating 11Q10 both from linguistic and a palaeographic point of view.

¹⁸ B.E. Zuckerman, ‘The Date of 11Q Targum Job’, 64.

¹⁹ I.e. ן/ה, כ/פ, ו/י.

²⁰ B.E. Zuckerman, ‘The Date of 11Q Targum Job’, 75.

²¹ E.M. Cook, ‘Qumran Aramaic and Aramaic Dialectology’ *Abr Nahrain: Studies in Qumran Aramaic* Suppl. 3 (1992) 1-21 sets the issues out clearly with particular reference to Qumran Aramaic and its position *vis-à-vis* other Middle Aramaic dialects.

tures. Within this general framework there are then introduced other considerations such as dialect variation, or distinctions between literary and vernacular forms in a given period. Thus modern attempts at construing a history of Aramaic (and more importantly for 11Q10, that phase widely known as ‘Middle Aramaic’) are characterised by the use of both synchronic and diachronic approaches to the fact of linguistic variation.²²

To the extent that discussions of Qumran Aramaic are directly related to exploration of the language in which 11Q10 has been realised, both synchronic and diachronic processes have been utilised with regard to our text. However, the vast majority of philological treatments of 11Q10 have occupied themselves with situating the text relatively within a Jewish Aramaic chronology.²³ In this regard, the editors draw extensively on the work of E.Y. Kutscher.²⁴ Based on stylistic and grammatical considerations, they suggest that the language of 11Q10 stands somewhere between the Aramaic of Daniel and that of 1QapGen which they agree with Kutscher should probably be dated to the 1st c. BCE. This implies a late second c. BCE date for 11Q10. While the editors’ conclusions regarding the date of 11Q10’s production have been challenged, their basic approach to the question has, with the exception of Zuckerman’s study, remained the primary mode of investigation.²⁵

²² For a recent treatment now in English see K. Beyer, *The Aramaic Language*. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986). (English transl. Healy: ‘Die Verbreitung und Gliederung’ ch.1 in K. Beyer, *Die Aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986).

²³ E.M. Cook, ‘Qumran Aramaic’, 2. A. Diez-Macho, ‘Le Targum Palestinien’, *RSR* 47 (1973) 169-231 has remained the most notable advocate of an Aramaic diglossia with regard to 11Q10. He sees the language of 11Q10 as a form of literary Aramaic contemporary with the more ‘popular’ Aramaic attested by TgNeofiti.

²⁴ E.Y. Kutscher, ‘The Language of the Genesis Apocryphon’, *Scripta Hierosolymitana* IV (Jerusalem, 1965) 1-35.

²⁵ *Editio princeps*, 3-4; M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job from Qumran Cave 11* Bar Ilan Studies in Near Eastern Languages and Culture (Ramat-Gan: Bar Ilan University, 1974) 9 explicitly adopts the editors’ approach and comes to similar conclusions. S.A. Kaufman, ‘The Job Targum from Qumran’, 327, sees 11Q10 as belonging to the first c. BCE, while R.I. Vasholz, *A Philological Comparison of the Qumran Job Targum and its Implications for the Dating of Daniel* (unpublished PhD dissertation [Stellenbosch] 1976) sees more affinities between 11Q10 and the older Aramaic texts and therefore dates it earlier (late 3rd-early 2nd c. BCE).

Zuckerman, in laying the groundwork for his particular palaeographic approach to the dating of 11Q10's production, provides a useful critique of the traditional linguistically-oriented dating methodology.²⁶ He suggests that one problem which arises when attempting to date the production of 11Q10 is related to the translational character of its language. Arguing from the premise that a translator's use of language will '...tend to level, alter, and or mask grammatical features of the language, thus making it more difficult to compare with other language types,'²⁷ Zuckerman suggests that the situation is further complicated when the texts used for comparison may utilise their target languages in similarly artificial manner. An additional impediment to valid comparison is the linguistic variation that may be attributed to the respective genres to which the sources belong i.e. does the translator's use of Aramaic differ when dealing with prose in the source text as opposed to poetry? Zuckerman also suggests that the possibility of archaising and/or modernising during the transmission of the text should not be overlooked and that this too tends to limit the validity of this type of dating method. Even if we were somehow able to control all of these factors we would still be left with probably the greatest handicap of all: the lack of a firm chronological foundation for most of the texts with which 11Q10 is compared linguistically. Most problematic of all is the Aramaic of Daniel. The work of Kitchen has shown that on linguistic grounds, the date of Daniel may be fixed anywhere between the Sixth and Second centuries BCE.²⁸

As can be seen from the above, the dating of the production of the Aramaic translation of Job contained in 11Q10 is far from straightforward. As the precise date of its production is, however, not the main concern of this study, it will perhaps suffice to suggest that it is fairly certain that we have on archaeological grounds, a *terminus ad quem* of 70 CE. As for a *terminus a quo*, it is conceivable that 11Q10 may have been composed at any time during the three centuries preceding the turn of the era but per-

²⁶ B.E. Zuckerman, 'The Date of 11Q Targum Job', 57-60.

²⁷ B.E. Zuckerman, 'The Date of 11Q Targum Job', 59.

²⁸ B.E. Zuckerman, 'The Date of 11Q Targum Job', 62.

haps as late as the first century CE. Beyond these seeming facts we are left to the probabilities of learned speculation.²⁹

Studying 11Q10

11Q10 since its discovery: A history of comparison

In a 1995 article on the Aramaic versions of the book of Job, Walter Aufrecht noted that scholarly interest in 11Q10 had generated nearly a hundred publications in less than fifty years.³⁰ A further indication of scholarly interest in the text is the fact that reviews of the *editio princeps* and Sokoloff's subsequent edition alone number more than thirty.³¹ While there are undoubtedly numerous ways in which the story of 11Q10's reception by the scholarly community might be recited, it is suggested that the concept of comparison might be a useful lens through which to view this history and bring certain aspects into sharper focus.

It is hardly surprising that initial interest in 11Q10 focused primarily on comparisons with its 'source text', and more particularly on its value as a textual witness to the Masoretic Text of Job.³² The following statement by Grelot in his review of the *editio princeps* bears witness to the typical priority given to matters of textual witness: 'La référence à la Septante, à la version syriaque et au Targum classique (qui parfois contient des doublets) est constante; mais naturellement c'est au texte massorétique que

²⁹ Perhaps as B.E. Zuckerman, 'The Date of 11Q Targum Job', 75 suggests, the convergence of his palaeographic work and the linguistic study of S.A. Kaufman, 'The Job Targum from Qumran' would make a later, rather than earlier date more probable.

³⁰ W.E. Aufrecht, 'Aramaic Studies and the book of Job' *Studies in Religion* (supplement) Wilfred Laurier University Press (1985) 54-66.

³¹ W.E. Aufrecht, 'A Bibliography of the Job Targum' *NTCS* (supplement 3) 1987.

³² Comparison with MT is a feature of most treatments of the text e.g. *Editio princeps*; B. Jongeling, C.J. Labuschagne, and A.S. van der Woude, *Aramaic Texts from Qumran*. (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1976) (hereafter *ATQ*); J. Fitzmyer 'The First Century Targum'; K. Beyer, *Die Aramäischen Texte*; S.A. Kaufman, 'The Job Targum from Qumran' and a primary focus of others e.g. F. Morrow, '11Q Targum Job and the Masoretic Text' *RQ* 8 (1973) 253-56; H. Ringgren, 'Some Observations on the Qumran Targum of Job' *ASTI* 11 (1978) 117-26; B. Jongeling, 'The Job Targum from Qumran Cave XI' *FoLor* 15 (1975) 181-86 and M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*.

ce targum ancien est comparé en premier lieu.³³ This particular emphasis is hardly surprising given that the study of the versions has often been considered less an end in itself than a means to an end (that end being an original/improved Masoretic text).³⁴ Furthermore, it seems entirely reasonable to explore the character of a translation through its relationship to a source text before comparisons to other translations of the 'same' source text are undertaken.

While in general, scholars have decided that 11Q10 seems to reflect a MT type *Vorlage*,³⁵ A.D. York in a dissertation on 11Q10, argues that the Qumran version in 21:5 reflects a pre-masoretic *Vorlage* and other commentators too have suggested the reading of variants in this MT-type *Vorlage* at different places in the text.³⁶ This type of objection is a helpful reminder that any general characterisation of a text as reflecting a MT-type *Vorlage* is merely that—a generalisation of only limited technical value. To clarify then: of the discrepancies between 11Q10 and MT, the vast majority have been seen as the result of the translator's intervention in rendering the target text, as opposed to being attributable to a source text which differed significantly from the Masoretic consonantal text. A danger inherent in such broad characterisations may be their tendency to lull commentators into a false sense of security—with the result that all discrepancies may be seen as translator's activity rather than a reflection of a variant text.

More recently, the analysis of translation technique has been added to the battery of methods through which 11Q10 may be compared to its *Vorlage*.³⁷ John C Lubbe approaches 11Q10 armed with theoretical assumptions gleaned from the work of linguist

³³ P. Grelot, Review of *Editio princeps*, *RQ* 8 (1973) 106.

³⁴ See for instance, E. Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research*. (Jerusalem: Simor, 1981).

³⁵ M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 6.

³⁶ A.D. York, *A Philological and Textual Analysis*, 182; M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 7 suggests that it is likely that the translation of 42⁹⁻¹¹ reflects a different *Vorlage* while F. Morrow, '11Q Targum Job' sees in 11Q10 the reflection of numerous variants.

³⁷ While Zuckerman's title *The Process of Translation in 11QTGJOB...* (1980) would suggest that his concern is with translation technique, his study in its present form resembles a more traditional philological commentary with extensive citation and analysis of corresponding 'units of translation' in a variety of versions. The author's own admission that the work is of a preliminary nature prevents further judgement

and translation theorist Eugene Nida.³⁸ Criticising the formal conception of ‘literalism’ which he sees in the work of James Barr and Emmanuel Tov, he suggests the need for a more complex, semantic analysis of the translation process in 11Q10.³⁹ Lubbe is indeed to be congratulated on his introduction of considerable linguistic sophistication into a discussion of the translation process but his conclusions tend merely to confirm the suggestion that, through various means, the target text (11Q10) seeks to ‘...convey the sense of ...[the] source text.’⁴⁰

The above survey is not intended to be comprehensive in scope but rather as representative of the kind of first order comparison undertaken in the investigation of a newly discovered version of a Hebrew book—namely, that of enquiry into the relationship between this translation and its putative source. As Grelot’s comment suggests, this first order comparison is inevitably accompanied (often concurrently) by second order comparisons with other texts that may shed light on it. While texts for comparison may be drawn from a variety of sources, often it is other translations or versions of the Hebrew Bible which are consulted initially. For their commentary on the *editio princeps* of 11Q10 for instance, the editors cite editions of the Peshitta, Rabbinic targum, Septuagint, Symmachus and the Vulgate. The recognition that the standard commentary format is necessarily limited in its ability to chart relationships between texts in any depth has of course led some scholars to treat the relationship between 11Q10 and other versions/texts more extensively.⁴¹

on its claim to deal with the process of translation in a systematic manner.

³⁸ J.C. Lubbe, ‘Describing the Translation Process of 11QTgJob: A Question of Method’ *RQ* 13 (1988) 583-93. E. Nida’s work undergirds much of the work of contemporary translation of the bible into non-Western languages. See his seminal work E. Nida, *Toward a Science of Translating with special reference to principles and procedures involved in Bible translating*, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1964).

³⁹ J.C. Lubbe, ‘Describing the Translation Process’, 584 He argues that while phenomena such as lexical consistency, morphological representation (representation of various elements of a source text word in the target text), syntactical representation (retention or source text word order) and qualitative representation are useful, they tend to be rather weak as criteria for literalism.

⁴⁰ J.C. Lubbe, ‘Describing the Translation Process’, 593. This position (albeit without any substantiation) was expressed in nearly identical terms by S.A. Kaufman, ‘The Job Targum from Qumran’, 318.

⁴¹ For discussion of the limitations of the commentary approach and the format adopted in the present study see ‘Format’ below.

The earliest comparison of 11Q10 with texts beyond the MT was undertaken by Tuinstra in a doctoral dissertation completed prior to the publication of the *editio princeps*.⁴² Tuinstra's views undoubtedly received a somewhat wider audience when A. Caquot presented them along with his own sympathetic conclusions in an article published in French some four years later.⁴³ While Tuinstra's actual dissertation included a chapter devoted to 11Q10's relationship to the Septuagint,⁴⁴ his work is perhaps better known for its claim to have recognised elements in the text pointing to a sectarian—specifically Essene—origin.⁴⁵ While this theory met with a degree of initial acceptance,⁴⁶ the majority of commentators have not found it particularly convincing.⁴⁷

If connections between 11Q10 and Qumran sectarian texts are generally thought to be quite tenuous, what may be said regarding the subject of Tuinstra's neglected chapter—the relationship between 11Q10 and the Septuagint of Job? An article by John Gray⁴⁸ is perhaps the best known treatment of this subject.⁴⁹ Arguing that divergences between LXX Job and MT Job are best explained as the progressive curtailment of the text through the intervention of the translator, rather than as a result of a non-MT *Vorlage*, he suggests that 11Q10 and a pre-Origen LXX Job are related at various points and may have drawn upon a common exegetical tradition.⁵⁰

⁴² E.W. Tuinstra, *Hermeneutische Aspecten van de Targum van Job uit Grot XI*. (PhD dissertation [Groningen] 1970).

⁴³ A. Caquot, 'Un écrit sectaire de Qoumrân: le Targoum de Job' *RHR* 185 (1974) 9-27.

⁴⁴ E.W. Tuinstra, *Hermeneutische Aspecten*, 58-64.

⁴⁵ E.W. Tuinstra, *Hermeneutische Aspecten*, 70. That this aspect of Tuinstra's work on 11Q10 has been emphasised, may be due in part to Caquot's re-presentation and augmentation of this aspect of his work.

⁴⁶ See for example, A.S. van der Woude, 'Review of E. Tuinstra *Hermeneutische Aspecten*...' *JSJ* 2 (1971) 95; R.I. Vasholz, *A Philological Comparison*, 18; H. Ringgren, 'Some Observations', 126.

⁴⁷ J. Fitzmyer 'The First Century Targum', 166 may be seen as representative when in agreeing with the editors he says of the targum: '...nothing, apart from its discovery in Qumran Cave XI, suggests that it had an origin in the Qumran community.'

⁴⁸ J. Gray, 'The Masoretic Text of the Book of Job', the Targum and the Septuagint Version in the Light of the Qumran Targum' *ZAW* 86 (1974) 331-50.

⁴⁹ But by no means the only one. See in addition to E.W. Tuinstra, *Hermeneutische Aspecten*, n.44, comments by B. Jongeling, *Een Aramees boek Job uit de Bibliotheek van Qumrân*. Exegetica. (Amsterdam: Ton Bolland, 1974) 190 and S.A. Kaufman, 'The Job Targum from Qumran', 318.

⁵⁰ J. Gray, 'The Masoretic Text of the Book of Job...', 340 ff. While most commentaries have noted points of comparison between the texts, Gray provides a relatively full analysis of select examples.

Most observations regarding the relationship between the two texts, however, have focused on the respective endings of the two texts. Particular attention has been paid to verse 17 of chapter 42 in LXX Job where a supplement to the epilogue is attributed to a 'Syrian book'⁵¹. In his discussion of the possible connections between this Syrian book and 11Q10, Jongeling suggests that the text as preserved could not have been the source of the LXX expanded epilogue. However, some degree of uncertainty regarding 11Q10's conclusion⁵² might allow for the possibility of a connection between the two versions.⁵³ Raphael Weiss, taking up the issue in his monograph on the Rabbinic targum of Job, doubts that τῆς Συριακῆς βίβλου is to be identified with a targum at all, preferring instead the suggestion that the source of the additional details of the LXX epilogue was an aggadic composition in Aramaic which has not survived.⁵⁴

And what of 11Q10's relationship to surviving ancient Aramaic versions of the book of Job? As is the case with the Septuagint, the editors⁵⁵ faithfully consult the Rabbinic targum of Job in their commentary on 11Q10 as does Sokoloff in his edition of the text.⁵⁶ Unlike the case of the Septuagint, however, extensive treatments of the relationship between the Rabbinic targum and the Aramaic translation found in Cave Eleven have been less popular. With the exception of Fitzmyer's study in 1974,⁵⁷ the examination of this relationship has been relegated to an 'honorable mention' in most work on the Qumran text, with the editors once again setting the tone.⁵⁸ Having sug-

⁵¹ LXX Job 42:17 '...οὗτος ἐρμηνεύεται ἐκ τῆς Συριακῆς βίβλου...' A. Rahlfs (ed.) *Septuaginta* I II (Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1935) (hereafter *LXX*).

⁵² See below page 56.

⁵³ B. Jongeling, *Een Aramees boek Job*, 191. Objections to the suggestion that a translation of MT 42:12-17 follows 11Q10 xxxviii, 8 are based on a lack of space required for the preservation of the six verses. Presumably, these same objections may be made with even greater force to suggestions of 11Q10's preservation of a considerably longer LXX-like epilogue.

⁵⁴ R. Weiss, *התרגום הארמי לספר איוב*, Ch. 1. Appendix II.

⁵⁵ *Editio princeps*, 1-87.

⁵⁶ M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 107-169.

⁵⁷ J. Fitzmyer 'The First Century Targum'.

⁵⁸ J. Gray, 'The Masoretic Text of the Book of Job, the Targum...' Despite the title of his article, Gray does not examine the relationship between 11Q10 and the Rabbinic Targum in any depth, while the perfunctory comments of R.I. Vasholz, *A Philological Comparison*, 3 and K. Beyer, *Die Aramäischen Texte*,

gested in his preliminary communication that 11Q10 has ‘...practically nothing to do with the original of the Septuagint’ van der Woude continued with the claim that the Qumran text has ‘...just as little to do with the Job Targum which first gained currency in the Middle Ages and was published by De Lagarde.’⁵⁹ His joint statement with van der Ploeg in their introduction to the *editio princeps* is only slightly less categorical: ‘...it cannot be doubted that the later targum is independent of 11Q10, except perhaps for certain exegetical traditions. The author of the second targum has not known the first [11Q10] or if he has known about it, he has not used it.’ While Sokoloff, in his introduction of 11Q10, merely affirms with the editors that ‘... there is no connection...’ between the Qumran text and the Rabbinic targum,⁶⁰ Grelot in his review of the *editio princeps* is even more dismissive of a relationship when he insists that 11Q10 ‘... certainement antérieur à la Mishnah et conservé par des mains esséniennes, diffère totalement du Targum conservé dans la tradition rabbinique.’⁶¹ Interestingly, however, such categorical and definitive statements (not merely ‘different’ but ‘totally different’) are accompanied neither by a demonstration of the fact, nor suggestions regarding the particular manner in which these texts *do* differ.⁶² It is perhaps even more surprising that such emphatic statements were already being made prior to the publication of Fitzmyer’s study which compared some aspects of the two texts.⁶³ If discussion of the relationship between 11Q10 and the rabbinic targum has been rather limited, what may be said of the treatment of 11Q10’s connections with another ancient Aramaic translation of Job, namely, that of the Peshitta? Until recently, an examination of the Qumran translation’s possible relationship to the Syriac version of Job has, like its comparison

283 agree with the conclusions of Fitzmyer.

⁵⁹ A.S. van der Woude ‘The Targum of Job’, 25.

⁶⁰ *Editio princeps*, 6; M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 5.

⁶¹ P. Grelot, Review of *Editio princeps*, 105.

⁶² Presumably Grelot sees the two texts as similar in that they are both Aramaic translations of a Hebrew book of Job. If we do not assume at least some degree of similarity it is hard to see why Grelot (or any commentator for that matter) would have compared 11Q10 to the Rabbinic targum as opposed to any other text.

⁶³ A similar view is expressed more recently by B.E. Zuckerman, ‘Targums of Job’ *Anchor Bible Dictionary* III (Doubleday, 1992) 867-68.

with RtgJob, been relegated to anecdotal discussion in the commentaries on the Qumran text.⁶⁴ In fact, while van der Woude's early communication on 11Q10 takes up the subject of the relationship of 11Q10 with LXX Job and the Rabbinic targum, no mention is even made of 11Q10's possible connection (or lack thereof) with the Peshitta of Job.⁶⁵ In subsequent treatments, when the issue of connections between 11Q10 and other versions of the book of Job arises, the Peshitta of Job is often conspicuous by its absence.⁶⁶ A recent summary article on 11Q10, while noting the existence and independence of the rabbinic targum, makes no mention of the Aramaic translation of Job preserved by the Syrian Christian tradition.⁶⁷

If systematic, three-way comparisons of 11Q10, RtgJob and P-Job have not been as widespread as might have been expected, several scholars did recognise the relevance of the Aramaic versions and attempt some form of comparative work. In 1973-4, not long after the publication of the *editio princeps*, R. Weiss devoted a portion of his doctoral dissertation on RtgJob to a discussion of the then recently discovered Aramaic translation from Qumran.⁶⁸ While recognising that the Qumran translator did stray at times from the Hebrew text he was rendering by adding, omitting or transposing source text elements, Weiss characterised the resultant translation as on the whole very literal.⁶⁹ In support of this assessment, Weiss noted that '...the number of expansions in the targum from Qumran is small in comparison to the large number in the later targum. The targum from Qumran lacks homiletic expansions and allusions to midrashim.'⁷⁰ Weiss provided examples to illustrate that the Qumran translation lacked the midrashic

⁶⁴ E.g. B.E. Zuckerman, *The Process of Translation*, 44-519 and A.D. York, *A Philological and Textual Analysis*, 3-328.

⁶⁵ A.S. van der Woude 'The Targum of Job'.

⁶⁶ See for example A.D. York, *A Philological and Textual Analysis*; J. Gray, 'The Masoretic Text of the Book of Job...' and B. Jongeling, *Een Aramees boek Job* to name but a few.

⁶⁷ B.E. Zuckerman, 'Targums of Job', 868.

⁶⁸ R. Weiss, *התרגום הארמי לספר איוב*, Appendix 1 (16-36).

⁶⁹ R. Weiss, *התרגום הארמי לספר איוב*, 19-20.

⁷⁰ R. Weiss, *התרגום הארמי לספר איוב*, 20-21.

insertions and allusions of the later RtgJob.⁷¹ In light of the comparative paucity of additional material in the Qumran translation, and the fact the Rabbinic targum was functioning as his primary point of reference, it is not surprising that Weiss gave strong consideration to the likelihood that it was the excessive literalness of the Qumran translation or one of a similar type which may have given rise to its censure at the hands of the Pharisaic-Rabbinic authorities as described in the Gamaliel *baraita*.⁷²

Despite, or perhaps in some measure, because, Weiss' work was published in the late 1970s in Hebrew, it seems safe to suggest that the best known comparison of the Qumran and Rabbinic Aramaic translations of Job in English scholarship has been that of Joseph Fitzmyer. Indeed, if scholarly interest in the relationship between the 'targums' has been conspicuously absent since Fitzmyer's work, part of the blame must rest with the author himself, for although he clearly did not intend it, his convincing demonstration of the dissimilarity of 11Q10 and RtgJob may have been seen by some as the final word on the subject. Having focused first on an assessment of lexical similarities (and more pertinently from his vantage point, dissimilarities) Fitzmyer then turned to the analysis of a selection of grammatical differences between the Qumran and Rabbinic targum texts. On the basis of this work and his own observation of 'a greater amount of paraphrasis in [RtgJob]' Fitzmyer came to the conclusion that 11Q10 as an ancient 'targum' differed substantially from the later Rabbinic targum preserved in Lagarde's *Hagiographa Chaldaice*.⁷³

⁷¹ 30:1, 37:11, 37:15, 40:28, 42:10. R. Weiss, התרגום הארמי לספר איוב, xv-xvi seems to operate with a rather broad definition of 'midrash' for 'midrashic' material in RtgJob may find parallels in not only the Rabbinic midrashim, but also in the talmudic material. In fact, it seems that Weiss' use of 'midrashic' encompasses not only parallels to exegetical traditions found elsewhere in Rabbinic literature, but also the targumist's 'derashic' approach to interpreting the text, despite the fact that the results of his interpretation (=midrashic insertions) do not find parallels in the extant Rabbinic literature.

⁷² R. Weiss, התרגום הארמי לספר איוב, 13. His comments at this point should however be read in conjunction with the more circumspect evaluation of this possibility which appears later in the same chapter (34).

⁷³ J. Fitzmyer 'The First Century Targum'. That this article should be read in the wider context of a discussion regarding Diez-Macho's views on the language of the 11Q10 in comparison with that of Neofiti may be seen from a lengthy footnote (J. Fitzmyer 'The First Century Targum', 181 n.69) in the reprinted article. Fitzmyer's contribution is taken up here in greater detail below.

In this same article, Fitzmyer not only pointed out the need for a more thorough comparison of 11Q10 with a critical edition of the Rabbinic targum, he also suggested the potential fruitfulness of extending this comparison to include the Syriac translation.⁷⁴ Nearly 25 years were to pass, however, before Jan Wilson would take up Fitzmyer's latter suggestion in a paper presented in Jerusalem in 1997.⁷⁵ In his study, Wilson focused on the relationship between the Qumran text and the Syriac version as a means of exploring the possibility that the former was used in the production of the latter. This orientation toward the question of textual influence was decisive for Wilson's choice of methodology and led him to cite only the few texts which might have pointed to a relationship of dependence between the two Aramaic versions.⁷⁶ Wilson's conclusion, however, was that there was virtually no evidence to suggest that the translator of P-Job utilised 11Q10 in his rendering and furthermore, that '...11Q10 does not contribute anything to the discussion of the connections between the Essenes and the early Christians at Edessa.'

While Heidi Szpek's more substantial work similarly focused on the question of dependence of P-Job on RtgJob, her treatment of the subject inaugurated the era of systematic three-way comparison of the available Aramaic versions of Job.⁷⁷ Szpek's work did independently confirm Wilson's conclusions that the Peshitta is not directly dependent on either of the Aramaic 'targums' of Job, but her similar orientation toward an assessment of dependence necessarily led her to focus her attention on *congruencies* between the texts (on the reasonable assumption that causally-linked congruencies would show the dependency of the Peshitta on the 'targumic' versions).⁷⁸ Szpek's

⁷⁴ J. Fitzmyer 'The First Century Targum', 174.

⁷⁵ E. Jan Wilson '11Q10 and the Question of the Essene-Edessa Connection' (unpublished paper, 1997).

⁷⁶ The five categories utilised by Wilson are as follows: A) The three versions [MT, 11Q10, P-Job] are essentially the same. B) All three versions differ. C) P follows 11Q10 and both diverge from MT. D) P follows MT while 11Q10 diverges from MT significantly. E) 11Q10 essentially follows MT, while P differs significantly from MT.

⁷⁷ H.M. Szpek 'On the Influence of the Targum on the Peshitta to Job' in P. Flesher (ed.), *Targum Studies* 2 (Atlanta: 1998) 141-58.

⁷⁸ The most decisive type of causally-linked congruency is an erroneous reading in a given text which may

search for similarities in the Aramaic versions led her to focus particularly on two areas of comparison, namely, language and exegesis.⁷⁹ It is no surprise that Szpek found that the shared linguistic heritage of the three translators leads them to introduce some common grammatical substitutions such as gender, number, person, verb tense, word class, and voice.⁸⁰ Operating on the assumption that RtgJob represents Western Aramaic,⁸¹ Szpek interrogated the Syriac dialect used by the translator of P-Job for signs of Western Aramaic influence.⁸² In fact, however, she found only one example of probable West Aramaic intrusion and concluded that even this instance might have been equally explicable as an error on the part of the Syriac translator.⁸³

Exegesis, the second area chosen by Szpek for exploration, proved slightly more productive in terms of finding common ground between the three Aramaic versions of Job. Szpek found that in the area of exegesis, the Syriac translator was much more likely to deviate from the Hebrew by adding a variety of minor (often grammatical) elements in order to produce a clearer, more explicit translation.⁸⁴ While the Qumran translator also showed an apparent willingness to add elements to the translation for the purpose of explicitness,⁸⁵ Szpek notes that the translator of RtgJob was far more cau-

be specifically traced to a particular source text. For examples within the textual tradition of RtgJob see, D. Shepherd, 'Before Bomberg: The Case of the Targum of Job in the Rabbinic Bible and the Solger Codex' *Biblica* 79 [3] (1998) 360-80.

⁷⁹ H.M. Szpek, 'On the Influence of the Targum', 145.

⁸⁰ H.M. Szpek, 'On the Influence of the Targum', 144.

⁸¹ This is, by and large, a safe assumption (see 'Language' below, however). A specific discussion of how the Aramaic dialect used by the Qumran translator should be related to the Aramaic/Syriac of the other two translations is not provided by Szpek.

⁸² H.M. Szpek, 'On the Influence of the Targum', 150.

⁸³ H.M. Szpek, 'On the Influence of the Targum'. For a different (albeit limited) approach to the linguistic relationship between the three Aramaic versions, see 'Language' below.

⁸⁴ H.M. Szpek, 'On the Influence of the Targum', 152-4. (see also n. 47) Elements added include: relative pronouns, suffixes, prepositions, conditional particles and words and short phrases.

⁸⁵ As will be made clear, Szpek's study falls short of a genuine tri-lateral comparison because of its orientation toward determining dependence of P on Tg. In terms of 'elements added' for instance, RtgJob and 11Q10 are consulted and compared only when an element (i.e., relative pronoun) is added in P-Job. This is restrictive in that no account is taken of the addition of elements which appear in the 'targumic' texts but not in P-Job. While Szpek comes to the conclusion that there are not enough relevant passages to determine the Qumran translator's attitude toward explicitation (154), it is worth noting that the total number of additional elements supplied by the respective translators is not adjusted to reflect the fact that

tious than the Qumran and Syriac translators in his additions to the text. In fact Szpek found that only when the degree of potential ambiguity reached a critical level was the targumist responsible for RtgJob willing to make his Aramaic rendering more explicit by means of additional elements.⁸⁶

With regard to more substantial additions not required by linguistic-stylistic considerations but supplied for extra-linguistic reasons, Szpek found all the Aramaic translators willing to augment their translations. In this case, however, it was the targumist who led the way in terms of the frequency and extent of added elements, supplying sizeable interpolations on topics such as the eschatological day of judgement, Gehenna and the Garden of Eden, the land of Israel and both the study and students of Torah.⁸⁷ The translator of P-Job on the other hand was less willing to interpolate and when he did so the new material provided was often related to a creative, but contextually appropriate, interpretation of a key word.⁸⁸ As for 11Q10, Szpek echoes Weiss' conclusion that in comparison with his Rabbinic counterpart, the Qumran translator too was sparing in his use of material to supplement his rendering.⁸⁹ While considerably more work might be done on the similarities between the Aramaic versions, Szpek's treatment is, in the final calculation, sufficient for her purpose, i.e., ruling out the dependence of P-Job on either the targum or Qumran renderings.⁹⁰

the sample provided by 11Q10 is only approximately 15% of those provided by RtgJob and P-Job. Further research is required, but certainly this factor should be taken into account when comparing the respective translators' attitudes toward explication through addition.

⁸⁶ H.M. Szpek, 'On the Influence of the Targum', 153. The examples cited by Szpek are (Rtg)Job 22:7, 24:5, 33:17, 40:12b.

⁸⁷ H.M. Szpek, 'On the Influence of the Targum', 157 seems to be relying here on the brief English summary of R. Weiss, *התרגום הארמי לספר איוב*, xv. Weiss follows his introductory discussion of Midrash and Aggadah in RtgJob (and the relation of the traditions in RtgJob to those found in other Rabbinic texts [235-40]) with a discussion of the locations in RtgJob where such traditions are found (241-87).

⁸⁸ H.M. Szpek 'On the Influence of the Targum', 156 (relying on J. Gray, 'The Masoretic Text of the Book of Job...', 338 and R. Weiss, *התרגום הארמי לספר איוב*, vi).

⁸⁹ H.M. Szpek 'On the Influence of the Targum', 156.

⁹⁰ In terms of areas for future consideration, RtgJob's striking use of multiple translation of whole verses (R. Weiss, *התרגום הארמי לספר איוב*, 288-93) and smaller units of texts (191-97) might be systematically compared with the use of double translations in P-Job (H.M. Szpek 'On the Influence of the Targum', 153-60) and 11Q10 (Weiss lists 25:2, 30:15, 36:11, 37:13, 38:10, 39:2, 39:21, 40:10, 42:2 as locations where the Qumran translator supplies two words where the Hebrew uses only one).

Although Szpek's work is an important first step in assessing the relationship between the Aramaic versions of Job, it is limited in some respects. Firstly, the present author can find no evidence to suggest that Szpek has made use of D. Stec's critical edition of RtgJob in her comparison.⁹¹ Secondly, the clearly defined goal of answering the question of influence of Targum on Peshitta has quite understandably informed Szpek's methodology in two respects. In the first place, in Szpek's treatment it is the Syriac version which orients the discussion leaving the Qumran and Rabbinic texts to be assessed primarily in terms of their congruity or incongruity with P-Job only where the *Syriac version* diverges from the MT. This type of investigation necessarily neglects any features in the Qumran and Rabbinic texts which do not find correspondence in the Syriac version. With Szpek's work having satisfactorily answered the question of textual or literary dependence (in the negative), it would seem clear that further investigation of the relationship between the Aramaic versions should be based on an assessment of each translation in its own right before comparisons are made.⁹² Secondly, as mentioned above, Szpek's focus on dependence necessarily led her to look for congruencies between the versions. In terms of modes of representation, it is obvious from Szpek's study that the few similarities which do exist between all three Aramaic versions of Job primarily take the form of either grammatical and semantic substitutions or, alternatively, additions. While Szpek found all three translators willing to supply additional material in their target texts vis-à-vis their Hebrew source text, she drew both qualitative and quantitative distinctions with respect to this additional material. As mentioned above, these additions were found either *within the translation* of the source text itself (linguistic-stylistic explication) or as a *supplement to the translation* (midrashic interpolations). It is important to note, however, that while Szpek's exploratory comparison of the Aramaic versions turned up a measure of congruity between the Aramaic versions in the areas of grammar and exegesis, the search for con-

⁹¹ For use of texts see 'Texts' below. While Rignell's critical edition of P-Job has been cited (H.M. Szpek 'On the Influence of the Targum', 143) no information is provided regarding which of the various editions of 11Q10 and RtgJob have served as the basis for comparison with the Syriac version.

⁹² See 'Format' below.

gruence between P-Job and RtgJob found little in the areas of syntax and style.⁹³ While congruencies may reveal dependence, a complete assessment of the relationship between the Aramaic versions of Job must take account of both the similarities and the dissimilarities between each of the translations. In fact, the documentation of incongruencies would seem to be an indispensable element of a global comparison of the Aramaic versions and while this approach will not provide evidence of dependence of one version on another (as this has already been explored by Szpek), it may nevertheless be expected to shed light on the relationship from other vantage points.

While much valuable comparative work has been undertaken with regard to 11Q10, the above survey of research on the text to date suggests that much work remains to be done in terms of locating the Qumran Aramaic translation of Job within the context of other ancient Aramaic translations. More specifically, the possibilities of tri-lateral comparison of the Aramaic versions have only begun to be explored by Szpek's important, but in some ways, limited investigations.

Terminology and 11Q10

Another feature of the story of 11Q10's reception by the scholarly community which suggests the necessity of an appraisal of the text in the light of other Aramaic versions is that of its classification. While the term 'targum' has from the beginning been applied to the Qumran translation of Job, accompanying qualifications of this term suggest that its use may be nuanced in a variety of ways.⁹⁴ Many commentators, including the editors have supplied the qualifier 'Qumran' to the targum in formulations suggesting that a reference to the text's provenance is intended. The title of van der Woude's preliminary communication ('The Targum of Job from Qumran Cave

⁹³ E.g. word order and clausal relationships involving *waw* (H.M. Szpek, 'On the Influence of the Targum', 144 n. 20). Szpek's assessment of congruence in the area of syntax does not seem to have included the Qumran translation.

⁹⁴ The term 'targum' has been used by commentators from the very beginning with reference to 11Q10 and was in fact incorporated into the sigla '11QtgJob' which J.P.M. van der Ploeg, 'Le targum de Job' used in his preliminary communication.

Eleven'), that of the *editio princeps*, as well as the editors' occasional use of the term 'Job Targum' suggest that the term Qumran is being used in the sense of the text's place of origin.⁹⁵ Others including Gray, Jongeling, Kaufman, and Zuckerman seem to be utilising the term in much the same way.⁹⁶ There is ample evidence to suggest, however, that the use of 'Qumran targum' with reference to 11Q10 is not utilised universally amongst commentators as an indication merely of provenance.

Tuinstra's conclusions regarding the sectarian (specifically Essene) nature of 11Q10 are the first suggestions that 'Qumran' may be understood not merely as an indicator of geographical origin, but also as a means of indicating an ideological affinity.⁹⁷ A. Caquot in his endorsement of Tuinstra's basic position, also reflects this ideological use of the term 'Qumran' when he suggests that '...11QtgJob illustre les représentations eschatologiques de l'interprète qoumrânien...' and then contrasts 11Q10 as composed by the 'qumranien targoumiste' with the later '... targum Juif.'⁹⁸ Both Rignell and Vasholz also utilise the term 'Qumran' in this manner.⁹⁹ Within the broader scholarly discussion, however, the theory of 11Q10's origins within the Qumran community, as opposed to the more generic milieu of Second Temple Judaism, has not stood the test of time. Like Fitzmyer, the present author remains entirely unconvinced by the arguments mustered by Tuinstra for a sectarian origin of the text and stands by the conclusion of the original editors, namely, that the only clearly 'Qumranic' feature of the Qumran translation of Job is its discovery in the caves of the same name.¹⁰⁰ This assessment squares with Beyer's more recent reiteration of Stanislav Segert's conclusion that none of the Aramaic texts found at Qumran betray sectarian

⁹⁵ A.S. van der Woude 'The Targum of Job', 19 and *Editio princeps*, 1-9.

⁹⁶ J. Gray, 'The Masoretic Text of the Book of Job...'; B. Jongeling, *Een Aramees boek Job*; S.A. Kaufman, 'The Job Targum from Qumran'; Zuckerman (1978, 1980, 1987).

⁹⁷ E.W. Tuinstra, *Hermeneutische Aspecten*, 70.

⁹⁸ A. Caquot, 'Un écrit sectaire', 20, 10, 25.

⁹⁹ H. Ringgren, 'Some Observations', 126 and R.I. Vasholz, *A Philological Comparison*, 18.

¹⁰⁰ J. Fitzmyer, 'The First Century Targum', 166; *Editio princeps*, 7.

origins but instead reflect the theological and literary traditions of the wider Jewish context.¹⁰¹

Even if arguments for the ideological use of the term 'Qumran' (i.e. Essene) with respect to 11Q10 are rejected, and scholars could agree to restrict the use of 'Qumran' to indicate 11Q10's place of origin, a potential problem of nomenclature would still remain for targums are often qualified with not one but two 'names.' Not only are targum texts often classified according to place of origin/redaction (i.e. claims and counter-claims for the 'Babylonian' origin/redaction of Onkelos¹⁰²) but in addition, they are often classified according to their location within a particular Jewish tradition (i.e. 'Rabbinic' targum tradition as opposed to the targum of the 'Samaritan' Jewish tradition). At this point, it is not our concern to argue for the membership of particular targum texts within these categories but rather to suggest that while much investigation of 11Q10 has taken place since its discovery, relatively little effort has been expended in locating it within the context of other ancient Aramaic translation traditions. In short, if it is not a product of a particularly Essene translation tradition, where does it fit within the context of the targum translation traditions?

Studies which have focused on the linguistic character of 11Q10, while not denying the immediate Qumran origin of 11Q10, have nevertheless sought to qualify the application of the term 'targum' in rather different ways. Fitzmyer's article comparing 11Q10 with the Rabbinic targum was originally published in 1974 under the title, 'Some observations on the Targum of Job from Qumran Cave 11'. When it was reprinted in 1979, however, its title had become 'The **First-Century** Targum of Job from Qumran Cave XI' reflecting Fitzmyer's conclusion that 11Q10 is, despite Diez-

¹⁰¹ S. Segert, 'Sprachliche Bemerkungen zu einigen aramäischen Texten von Qumran', *ArOr* 33 (1965) 190-206 (esp. 205); K. Beyer, *Die Aramäischen Texte*, 157 sees Jerusalem as the probable origin of the Aramaic scrolls found at Qumran.

¹⁰² For a recent study of this issue see E.M. Cook, 'A New Perspective on the Language of Onkelos and Jonathan' in D. Beattie and M. McNamara (eds.) *The Aramaic Bible: Targums in their Historical Context* JSOT Suppl. 166 (Sheffield: University of Sheffield Press, 1994).

Macho's claims, older than the Palestinian targum as represented by Neofiti.¹⁰³ T. Muraoka, arguing on the basis of linguistic evidence for both an early composition date and the Eastern origin of 11Q10, refers to the text as 'The **Old** Targum of Job...'.¹⁰⁴

In the introduction to his substantial volume on the Aramaic texts from the Dead Sea, Klaus Beyer mentions 11Q10 both in his account of the development of the Aramaic language and in his introductory notes on the Qumran 'targums'.¹⁰⁵ Like Muraoka and Fitzmyer, Beyer too is led by his linguistic investigation of 11Q10 to supply a further qualification of the term 'targum'. He favours the term 'Hasmonean', thereby avoiding (at least temporarily) an explicit judgement on the chronological relationship between 11Q10 and the targums. With regard to the characterisation of 11Q10 as an 'Old' targum, an examination of its relationship *vis-à-vis* the Rabbinic targum and Peshitta of the book of Job would enable us to deal more meaningfully with questions of its status within the development of the 'targumic' genre (i.e. Might 11Q10 be characterised as a 'proto-' or 'pre-' targum?)

Indeed, it seems clear that further qualification of the term 'targum' as applied to 11Q10 would not be an issue at all, were it not for the fact that when the Qumran text was discovered in the middle of the twentieth century, the title of 'targum of Job' had already been assigned to the Aramaic translation preserved by the Rabbinic tradition in medieval MSS and, subsequent to the Bomberg Bible, in its printed editions.¹⁰⁶ The issue of precedence and terminology was raised explicitly by Zuckerman as early as 1978, where he rightly recognises the importance of nomenclature. He argues that the use of 'Tg1' and 'Tg2' to refer to 11Q10 and the Rabbinic targum respectively,¹⁰⁷ implies the Qumran text's '...primacy in the targumic tradition for which no evidence

¹⁰³ See 'Language' below.

¹⁰⁴ T. Muraoka, 'The Aramaic of the Old Targum of Job from Qumran Cave XI', *JJS* 25 (1974) 425; T. Muraoka, 'Notes on the Old Targum of Job from Qumran Cave XI' *RQ* 9 (1977) 117.

¹⁰⁵ K. Beyer, *Die Aramäischen Texte*, 274; K. Beyer, *The Aramaic Language*.

¹⁰⁶ See D.M. Stec, *The Text of the Targum of Job* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994) for a more thorough discussion of the textual history of RtgJob.

¹⁰⁷ M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job* follows the *editio princeps*' use of this terminology.

can actually be mustered.¹⁰⁸ He avoids this implication by referring to 11Q10 as 'the Qumran targum' while designating the Rabbinic targum as 'Standard'.¹⁰⁹ While this view is appealing in that it avoids attributing primacy to the 'Qumran targum' it appears to purchase this neutrality at a price; for while hindsight suggests to us that the Rabbinic targum is the 'Standard' targum, this is nothing more than a function of the eventual triumph of the Pharisaic-Rabbinic tradition. The use of this kind of terminology ('Standard' vs. 'Qumran') would, it is suggested, rule out what must be considered as a distinct possibility; namely, that in Jewish culture of the first century C.E, it was in fact 11Q10, and not a Rabbinic targum of Job, which represented the 'Standard' targum.

More recently the question of 11Q10's classification was raised by Sebastian Brock within the context of a more general discussion of ancient versions of the Old Testament.¹¹⁰ Brock contrasted the character of the Aramaic translations from Qumran [4QtgLev; 4QtgJob and 11QtgJob (11Q10)] with the 'later targumic tradition' by suggesting that whereas the Qumran translator saw himself as merely an *interpretes*¹¹¹ (literalist translator) the translators responsible for the targums adopted the role of *expositores*¹¹² (one who both translates and elucidates).¹¹³ It is perhaps not surprising that Brock's *de facto* genre distinction between Qumran and 'later' targums was reflected, whether consciously or unconsciously, in his restriction of the term 'targum' to the later

¹⁰⁸ B.E. Zuckerman, 'Two Examples of Editorial Modification in 11QTgJob' in G. Tuttle (ed.) *Biblical and Near Eastern Studies: Essays in Honor of W.S. LaSor* (Grand Rapids: 1978) 274 n. 2.

¹⁰⁹ Similarly, W.E. Aufrecht 'Aramaic Studies', 56 uses '11QtgJob' to refer to 11Q10 and designates the Rabbinic targum as 'the official Targum'.

¹¹⁰ S.P. Brock, 'Translating the Old Testament' in D.A. Carson and H.G.M. Williamson (eds.), *It is Written: Scripture Citing Scripture: Essays in Honour of Barnabas Lindars* (Cambridge: 1988) 87-98.

¹¹¹ S.P. Brock, 'Translating the Old Testament', 90 'the *interpretes* does not regard it as his role to remove or elucidate the obscurities of the text he is translating [and]...will be content (indeed) find it his duty) to pass on to his readers a difficulty of the source text in the form of a nonsense translation.'

¹¹² S.P. Brock, 'Translating the Old Testament', 93. The expositor takes on the added interpretative role renounced by the *interpretes* and is concerned to give the sense of the text.

¹¹³ S.P. Brock, 'Translating the Old Testament', 95. See also S. Brock, 'To Revise or Not to Revise: Attitudes toward Jewish Biblical Translation' in G. Brooke *et al.* (eds.) *Septuagint, Scrolls and Cognate Writings* (Atlanta: Scholars' Press, 1992) 301-338 where the distinction between *interpretes* and *expositor* is laid out in an admirably clear manner (312-13).

rabbinic translations and his reference to the Qumran texts as 'Aramaic translations'.¹¹⁴ Although Brock's distinction between the Qumran and Rabbinic targums was not substantiated by illustrative examples drawn from the texts themselves, his views were important insofar as they raised the question of the classification of the Qumran Aramaic translation at a slightly more basic level (i.e. Should 11QTgJob (and the other QTg) be classified as 'targum' at all?).¹¹⁵

That this question had been raised in the wider scholarly community by Brock may be seen from the subsequent work of two scholars working in the areas of Targum and Syriac Bible respectively. In his illuminating investigation of targumic passages which represent speech reports in the Pentateuch, Alexander Samely arrives at his own assessment of the character of targum which leads him to define it as follows: 'Targum is an Aramaic narrative paraphrase of the biblical text in exegetical dependence on its wording'.¹¹⁶ In his discussion of terminology and the application of the term 'targum' to ancient versions, Samely consciously differentiates the Qumran Aramaic translation of Job specifically, and Septuagint, Peshitta, and Vulgate versions generally, from the Pharisaic-Rabbinic targums on the basis of the targum's formal features discovered in his analysis.¹¹⁷ While Samely provides insightful discussions of how 'targum', as he has defined it, should be clearly differentiated from the genres of 'midrash' and 're-

¹¹⁴ S.P. Brock, 'Translating the Old Testament', 95.

¹¹⁵ His negative answer to this question is reiterated incidentally in S.P. Brock, 'A Palestinian Targum Feature in Syriac' *JJS* 46 (1995) 274-5.

¹¹⁶ A. Samely, *The Interpretation of Speech in the Pentateuch Targums*, TSAJ 27 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1992) 180. The basic features of the targum's literary form according to Samely are: 1) Targum is comprehensive (not selective) in its representation; 2) Targum is exclusive (i.e., while double interpretations are possible *alternate* interpretations of the same text are not) [As P.S. Alexander points out in his review (*JJS* 45 [1994] 311-13) of Samely, the manifest existence of rubricated alternate interpretations in RtgJob would seem at the very least, to raise questions about the validity of this feature across the range of targumic literature.]; 3) Targum is narrative (i.e., the narrative voice of the source text is maintained; 4) Targum is dependent on the wording of the original, in both translation and in the result of an interpretation of the original wording; 5) Targum is exegetical; See A. Samely, 'Is Targumic Aramaic Rabbinic Hebrew? A reflection on midrashic and targumic rewording of Scripture' *JJS* 45 (1994) 92-100 for a further refinement and restriction of this definition to include only Rabbinic texts.

¹¹⁷ A. Samely, *The Interpretation of Speech*, 159 He avoids labelling 11Q10 as a targum 'because on the basis of the characteristics of targumic form established in [his] study, it seems to belong to the group of translations mentioned and not to the targumic texts of PJ,N,M,O,F and C.'

written bible', his fundamental contribution lies in his delineation of the genre of 'targum' on the basis of formal features of actual targum texts. The distinction between 'targum' and other ancient versions, such as the Septuagint or Peshitta, on precisely this basis, seems to be implied rather than demonstrated by his study and in light of this it is not surprising that Samely, like Brock, is content to leave his claim regarding the Qumran 'non-targum' unsubstantiated and merely suggestive.

In his long-awaited *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament*, Michael Weitzman disagreed with Goshen-Gottstein's conclusion that the Peshitta should be described as a Jewish targum.¹¹⁸ For Weitzman, the Syriac version's lack of features which he saw as basic to targumic rendering (virtually constant agreement with MT, continual recourse to rabbinic exegesis, frequent loose renderings) rendered both it and the Aramaic version of Job from Qumran unsuitable for classification as 'targum'. While this conclusion was to some extent based on Weitzman's extensive comparison of Syriac and targumic versions, it seems likely that his comparative work on Peshitta and Targum Chronicles was one of the particular and primary bases for the differentiation of P (and 11Q10) from Targum.¹¹⁹ Although in other respects, the Syriac version of Chronicles bears no small resemblance to targumic translations (e.g. recourse to rabbinic exegesis), Weitzman's reading of earlier students of the two versions such as Fraenkel and Tötterman suggested to him that the two versions of Chronicles are to be distinguished fundamentally on the basis of their representation of the Hebrew text before them.¹²⁰ In other words, whereas the targumist makes a concerted effort to repre-

¹¹⁸ M.P. Weitzman, *The Syriac version of the Old Testament: An Introduction* (Cambridge: CUP, 1999) 128; M.H. Goshen-Gottstein, Review of A. Vööbus, *Peshitta und Targumim des Pentateuchs...*, *JSS* 6 (1961) 266, 'There is no contradiction between the statement that the Peshitta is based on the Hebrew text and the contention that it depends on a Targum. We may say that P is basically a Targum or that it represents Targumic tradition.'

¹¹⁹ M.P. Weitzman, 'Is the Peshitta of Chronicles a Targum?' in P. Flesher (ed.), *Targum Studies* 2 (Atlanta: 1998) 159-93 (summary provided in M.P. Weitzman, *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament*, 111-121).

¹²⁰ M.P. Weitzman, 'Is the Peshitta of Chronicles a Targum?', 192. Similarities include: rabbinic elements, targumic phraseology, and agreements between P-Chronicles and both Targum Jonathan and Targum Chronicles. (see 182-92); S. Fraenkel, 'Die syrische Übersetzung zu den Büchern der Chronik' *Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie* 5 (1879): 508-536; C.A.R. Tötterman *Pelguta qadmaya de-*

sent the formal features of the text in the order in which they appear in the MT, the Syriac translator of Chronicles displays a less strict approach, deviating from the form of the Hebrew for the sake of intelligibility.¹²¹ If, however, Weitzman is entirely clear in his rationale for differentiating the Syriac and targumic versions, he, like Samely merely alludes to this same distinction holding for the Qumran translation as well without providing any textual analysis to support it.

As is clear from the above, while both Weitzman and Samely would presumably agree with Brock in differentiating the Qumran translation of Job from the Rabbinic targum on the basis of the added interpretative element in the latter, both Weitzman and Samely lay special emphasis on differentiating targum from ancient versions (esp. Peshitta) on the basis of its representation of, and relation to, the Hebrew source text. Although their own contributions to the discussion are well-grounded in textual analyses, the quite plausible assessments of Weitzman, Samely and Brock regarding the Qumran Aramaic translation of Job remain merely suggestive unless they can be rooted in concrete textual examples.

The Aims of the Present Study

Thus far we have attempted to provide an outline of the recent scholarly discussion of the Qumran Aramaic translation of Job both from the perspective of a history of comparison with the versions and from the vantage point of its labelling and classification. The above survey seems to point to two *desiderata*:

- 1) While much valuable study of 11Q10 has been undertaken since its emergence from Cave Eleven near Qumran, our understanding of its relationship to its counterparts in the targumic and Syriac traditions would be significantly enhanced by a systematic, synoptic three-way comparison which is not limited to an exploration of the question of textual dependence.

Baryamin cum hebraeis collata (Helsinki, 1870).

¹²¹ M.P. Weitzman, 'Is the Peshitta of Chronicles a Targum?', 160.

- 2) While in most circles, 11Q10 has been classified as a ‘targum’ and then differentiated adjectivally (‘Old’, ‘Qumran’, ‘First Century’ etc.) in a variety of ways from the Rabbinic targum, it has recently been suggested by some scholars that the Qumran text should in fact be deprived of the name ‘targum’ on the basis of certain formal criteria relating to the representation of its Hebrew source. While suggestive and intuitively credible, these latter suggestions are thus far altogether lacking in any analytical foundation.

As mentioned above, Szpek’s focus on the question of dependence led her to focus on translation modifications such as addition and substitution.¹²² In fact, it seems clear that this type of focus is ill-equipped to assess the respective Aramaic versions’ formal representation of their Hebrew source text. Rather, it is the categories of syntax and style—precisely those which Szpek passed over as unfruitful in terms of illustrating congruence between Targum (only RtgJob) and Peshitta—which would seem to offer the best testing ground for an assessment of the respective translators representation of, and attitude toward their Hebrew source text. While a comprehensive assessment of each Aramaic version’s representation of the Hebrew text across the categories of grammar, syntax, semantics and style would take us beyond the scope of the present study,¹²³ Szpek’s study points us toward three viable indices by which the formal representation of the Hebrew text might be assessed.¹²⁴

- 1) The respective Aramaic versions’ willingness to omit or pass by elements in their Hebrew source text as they constitute their Aramaic translations.
- 2) The respective Aramaic versions’ willingness to depart from the word order of their Hebrew source text as they constitute their Aramaic translations.

¹²² It is worth noting that while H.M. Szpek ‘On the Influence of the Targum’ did not find proof of the Syriac version’s dependence on either the Qumran or Rabbinic ‘targum’, neither did she appear to feel compelled to radically differentiate 11Q10 from the targumic tradition or deny 11Q10 the title of ‘targum’.

¹²³ That this project would involve a truly massive undertaking is suggested by Zuckerman’s impressive, yet ultimately only preliminary attempt at a comprehensive comparison of 11Q10 with the versions (B.E. Zuckerman *The Process of Translation in 11Q10: A Preliminary Study*) Despite topping 550 pages, his work covered only the first 15 columns of the text.

¹²⁴ H.M. Szpek ‘On the Influence of the Targum’, 144 n. 20.

- 3) The respective Aramaic versions' treatment of a 'minor' element such as the *waw* conjunction, in terms of its addition, omission, or substitution vis-à-vis the Hebrew source text.

While a systematic, synoptic comparison of the Qumran, Syriac and targum versions on the basis of these three criteria will not satisfactorily answer all questions of the relationship between them, it is hoped that such an analysis would shed light on the question of how the respective Aramaic versions represent the Hebrew text they are translating. It is then hoped that the achievement of this modest goal will in turn help us to advance the discussion of 11Q10's classification and perhaps hint at this text's significance within the broader context of the ancient Aramaic versions.

Finally, it will not have gone unnoticed that the present study prefers to make use of the series number (11Q10) rather than the official *sigla* (11QtgJob) when referring to the Aramaic translation of Job found at Qumran. The series number 11Q10 is at this introductory stage proposed only as a working title—a means of temporarily stepping back from the assumptions implicit in the label 11QtgJob.¹²⁵

¹²⁵ An excerpt from Céline Mangan's introduction to her excellent translation of RtgJob (C. Mangan, *The Targum of Job*, 5) suggests that terminology is not irrelevant to the reception of a given text. In her introductory paragraph to the translation, she suggests that if the LXX reference to a 'Syrian book' might refer to an '... aggadic elaboration rather than to a targum proper', then '...it shows that such midrashic elaborations were already connected with the Book of Job, as distinct from the Qumran targum which is *surprisingly literal* (italics mine). While a reference to 11Q10 as 'literal' is not unexpected, the use of 'surprisingly' is frankly, surprising. If it is safe to assume that this 'surprise' involves, in some sense, the frustration of expectations, then we are entitled to enquire of Mangan as to where these frustrated expectations of 11Q10 being midrashic or aggadic come from? While it seems odd to have 'aggadic expectations' of a text known as 11Q10, it is perhaps more understandable when confronted by a text labelled 'the Qumran targum'. Interestingly, while E. Jan Wilson '11QtgJob and the Question of the Essene-Edessa Connection' utilises '11QtgJob' in the title of his article, the body of his text refers to '11Q10'. The designation 'Rabbinic Targum of Job' (and abbreviations) is to be understood in the sense that whatever its origins, the present targum of Job has been included in the 'rabbinic' reading tradition since at least the time of Saadya Gaon. (C. Mangan, *The Targum of Job*, 8). (The Gamaliel *baraita* is of course a record of what purports to be a very early rabbinic reference to a targum of Job, however, as mentioned above, its specific textual identity is unknown). For further discussion of the use of the term 'targum' see 'Locating 11Q10 amongst the Aramaic versions' (Conclusion) below.

The Parameters of the Present Study

Texts

In a synoptic textual comparison, it is of course of paramount importance that it be made clear exactly which texts are to be utilised.¹²⁶ While Fitzmyer, in his comparison of 11Q10 and the Rabbinic Targum of Job could only make use of the editions available to him at the time, he recognised that his study was limited by the fact that critical editions of Peshitta Job and the Rabbinic targum of Job had not yet been produced.¹²⁷ This state of affairs began to be remedied in 1982 with the Peshitta Institute's publication of the critical edition to the Peshitta of Job [Base text: MS B. 21, Milan, Ambrosian Library=7a1].¹²⁸ A dozen years later a critical edition of the Rabbinic targum of Job [Base text: MS Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Urbina I=ϐ (for *sigla* of other MSS listed in this study see Stec)] was offered to the scholarly world by David Stec.¹²⁹ For the purposes of this study, electronic CCAT versions of these two texts have been graciously provided in the case of the former, by the Peshitta Institute in Leiden and in the

¹²⁶ Synoptic approaches to the targum of the Pentateuch are common, cf. P. Grelot, 'Les Targums du Pentateuque' *Semitica* 9 (1959) 59-88; G. Vermes, 'The Targumic Versions of Genesis IV 3-16' *ALUOS* (1961-62) 81-114; D. Shepherd, 'Translating and Supplementing: A(nother) look at the Targumic Versions of Genesis 4:3-16' *JAB* 1 (1999); H. Sysling, *Teḥiyyat Ha-Metim TSAJ* 57 (Tübingen: Mohr 1996); See P. Flesher, 'Exploring the Sources of the Synoptic Targums to the Pentateuch' in P. Flesher (ed.) *Targum Studies: Textual and Contextual Studies in the Pentateuchal Targums*. 1 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992) for a more extensive discussion and bibliography on synoptic approaches in targumic studies and the NT.

¹²⁷ J. Fitzmyer 'The First Century Targum', 180. Appearing first in 1974 as it did, the article could presumably only have been based on the *editio princeps* of 11Q10 and as is mentioned explicitly, the text of the Rabbinic targum of Job as preserved in P. de Lagarde, *Hagiographa chaldaice*. Leipzig: Tübingen, 1873 (reprinted Osnabrück: Zeller, 1967). Before the publication of the Leiden edition, the most recent editions of Peshitta Job belong to the 19th century. See L.G. Rignell, 'Notes on the Peshitta of the Book of Job' *ASTI* 9 (1974) 98-106 for further discussion of pre-cursors to the Leiden edition of P-Job.

¹²⁸ L.G. Rignell, (ed.) *The Old Testament in Syriac according to the Peshitta Version: Job*. (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1982) [hereafter *Rignell*]. H. Szpek, 'On the Influence of the Septuagint on the Peshitta', *CBQ* 60 (1998) 25 notes that the text tradition of P-Job lacks the earliest text phase of the Peshitta identified by M. Koster (most recently 'The Copernican Revolution in the Study of the Origins of the Peshitta' in P. Flesher (ed.) *Targum Studies* 2 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998) 15-54. While MS 7a1 is then a representative of the earliest available stage of the text of P-Job, we unfortunately lack the evidence which would allow us to speak of earlier translators' (or transmitters') treatment of the *waw*.

¹²⁹ D.M. Stec, *The Text of the Targum of Job*. For a discussion of the importance of MS Nürnberg and its place in the stemma suggested by Stec, see D. Shepherd, 'Before Bomberg', 360-80.

case of the latter, by the Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon Project at Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati.¹³⁰ Where necessary, however, the limited critical apparatus of these electronic versions have been augmented through comparison with the official printed critical editions. While the selection of a text of 11Q10 is in some respects less complicated due to the lack of an attested manuscript history, the fragmentary state and, at times, illegibility of the sole surviving manuscript allows considerable latitude for alternative readings.¹³¹ As a forthcoming edition of the text being prepared by B. Zuckerman was not yet available at the time of this study, it was decided that an electronic text of M. Sokoloff's edition of 11Q10 (again, generously provided by the CAL Project) would be utilised.¹³² Sokoloff's edition is, however, augmented by the inclusion of the additional fragment published originally by B.E. Zuckerman and S.A. Reed and later included by F. Martinez *et al.* in the reissued *DJD* edition of the texts from Qumran Cave 11.¹³³ Furthermore, due consideration has been given to other editions and readings of 11Q10 and on occasion it will be specifically noted that another reading of this text has been adopted.¹³⁴

Having discussed the textual materials to be included in such a comparison, it now remains to set out the particular criteria employed and to elucidate, in as clear a manner as is possible, the principles by which the following comparison is organised. While this study will concern itself with discrepancies between the putative source text (MT) and the respective translations (and between the translations themselves) this concern

¹³⁰ Special thanks to both Konrad Jenner in Leiden and Jerome Lund in Cincinnati for their co-operation and assistance in providing the texts in CCAT format. Needless to say, responsibility for any errors appearing in the synoptic texts as presented in the following study rest solely with the author.

¹³¹ The fragmentary nature of 11Q10 is restrictive too in the sense that synoptic comparison with the other Aramaic versions is limited to those sections preserved by the Qumran text.

¹³² This new edition is apparently to be based on newer, clearer photographs. (Private communication with Zuckerman).

¹³³ B.E. Zuckerman and S.A. Reed, 'A Fragment of an Unstudied Column of 11Q¹ Job: A Preliminary Report' *The Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon Newsletter* 10 (1993) 1-7; F. Martinez *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 11*.

¹³⁴ The sources for such readings include for instance, *Editio princeps*; F. Martinez *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 11*; J. Fitzmyer, and D.J. Harrington, (eds.) *A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts (Second century B.C. - Second century A.D.)* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1978) 10-47, 194-97; *ATQ*.

will of course also highlight the extent to which certain translations agree either with each other, or correspond more closely to the MT. While the general answer to the question of why respective translations of a real or supposed source text display divergences may be found in the seemingly unassailable conclusion that the production of translation is a cultural activity, it is perhaps worthwhile to consider briefly the more particular causes of such differences.¹³⁵

Vorlage

Of fundamental importance in any comparative study of translation, is the locating of a corresponding text which has served as the source of the translation(s).¹³⁶ While concern for the *Vorlage* underlying a translation has long been a factor in research into the ancient versions, the significance of a different *Vorlage* as a potential source for target text divergences may be lost amidst the enthusiasm generated by the positing of translation theories and techniques of considerable comprehensiveness and complexity.¹³⁷ With regard to the Aramaic translations of Job, it is a general consensus that at the macro level, the source texts from which they are derived are of an MT type.¹³⁸ However, at the micro level—in terms of individual readings—the possibility

¹³⁵ Being a cultural activity, a translation is subject to not merely the linguistic, but also the ideological, stylistic and poetic constraints of the culture in which it is produced. See for instance, A. Lefevere, *Translating Literature: Practise and Theory in a Comparative Literary Context*. (New York: MLA 1992) 86 ff. The emergence of the modern academic discipline of Translation Studies bears witness to the increasing interest in (and fundamental assumption of) non-linguistic factors involved in the production of translation. The revised edition of S. Bassnett, *Translation Studies*, (London and New York: 1991) provides a recent summary of the contributions of this approach to the study of translation.

¹³⁶ G. Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond* (Philadelphia: Benjamins, 1995) 75. provides an extremely enlightening discussion of the importance of source text identity. In the interesting case of a so-called 'pseudo-translation' it is discovered that the 'translation' is an original composition in the 'target language' and that no corresponding 'source language' text in fact exists.

¹³⁷ For example, several reviews (E.G. Matthews, *CBQ* 56 (1994) 344; M. Weitzman *JThS* 47 (1996) 585; J. Lund, *JBL* 113 (1994) 329) of H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique in the Peshitta to Job. A Model for Evaluating a Text with Documentation from the Peshitta to Job*, SBLDS 137 (Atlanta: 1992) are critical of Szpek's apparently uncritical assumption of an MT *Vorlage* for P-Job.

¹³⁸ For P-Job see G. Rignell, *The Peshitta to the Book of Job: Critically Investigated with Introduction, Translation, Commentary and Summary* (Kristianstad: Monitor, 1994) 363. E.G. Matthews dissents from this view, in his review of Szpek (*CBQ* 56 (1994) 344) suggesting that P-Job was not translated directly

that the source text is not necessarily identical with the MT should always be kept in mind. Indeed, the very question of a translator's selection of, and attitude toward their source text may shed interesting light on the cultural or historical context in which the translation was produced. While the elucidation of text-critical issues vis-à-vis the MT is not a particular concern of this study, a conscious attempt has been made to consider the possibility that a variant *Vorlage* may lie behind a target text divergence. In the course of the following analysis, any implications with regard to the nature of the respective source texts will be considered.¹³⁹

Language and Style

While it is true that the three target languages of the respective translations chosen for comparison in this study may all be broadly classified as Aramaic, it is important to note that the respective target languages display important linguistic differences.¹⁴⁰ As we have already mentioned, observed linguistic variation within Aramaic allows students of Aramaic dialectology to differentiate texts displaying certain linguistic features within the dialectal framework of the language. While much work remains to be done in the field of Aramaic dialectology, the current dialectal classification of Peshitta Job, RtgJob and 11Q10 reflects this recognition of distinctive linguistic features.¹⁴¹ Whether the differentiation of

from the Hebrew. For RtgJob, see C. Mangan, *The Targum of Job*, 14; R. Weiss, התרגום הארמי לספר איוב, [XI]; 104ff. For 11Q10 see 'A history of comparison' above.

¹³⁹ With respect to source text issues, it is perhaps worthwhile here to quote *in extenso* the views of G. Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies*, 74: '...when devising a research method, provisions should be made for any kind of possible complication; and there are indeed several cases where a **multitude of candidates for a source text** may exist. In cases of this kind, any attempt to justify a researcher's selection of a source text would depend, at least in part, on what the target text itself exhibits, which would render the establishment of the source text's identity part of the comparative analysis itself. In each one of these cases, the reasons why the text actually picked was deemed preferable as a source text constitute an interesting issue in itself. Uncovering these reasons may even have important implications for the overall account of the relationships between function, process and product.' [*our emphasis*].

¹⁴⁰ J. Fitzmyer 'The Phases of the Aramaic Language' in *idem.*, *A Wandering Aramean...*, 61; K. Beyer, *The Aramaic Language*, 43. For the use of terms such as 'Aramaic' and 'Syriac' in Jacob of Edessa see Lucas van Rompay, 'Past and Present Perceptions of Syriac Literary Tradition' *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies* [<http://www.acad.cua.edu/syrcom/Hugoye>] vol. 3, no. 1 (2000), § 3-5.

¹⁴¹ The following classification of K. Beyer, *The Aramaic Language* is here provided not as an endorse-

linguistic features is explained synchronically or diachronically, the fact remains that the use of three more or less distinct Aramaic target dialects produces some degree of textual variation in the respective translations.

This linguistic variation is reflected in the fact that a significant portion of Fitzmyer's initial comparison of RtgJob and 11Q10 is devoted to a linguistic comparison of the two texts.¹⁴² While he draws attention to particular grammatical features, the centre-piece of his argument for the linguistic dissimilarity of the two texts is a lexical assessment of the degree of similarity/dissimilarity.¹⁴³ According to Fitzmyer, the total number of similar words in 11Q10 and RtgJob is approximately 683 (of a total of 1437 preserved in 11Q10) which yields a similarity percentage of 47.5. Although Fitzmyer himself admits that some of the differences between the two translations might well be explained by differing Hebrew *Vorlagen*, he finds striking dissimilarity both in RtgJob's choice of entirely different Aramaic synonyms to render a supposedly identical Hebrew word and the apparent lateness of the targumist's lexical choices.¹⁴⁴ With the critical editions of RtgJob and P-Job which Fitzmyer lacked now at our disposal, a replication and extension of Fitzmyer's comparison yields some interesting results.¹⁴⁵ First with respect to the replication of Fitzmyer's comparison of RtgJob and 11Q10, out of a total of 1278 words preserved by 11Q10, 624, or 48.8% were found to be *similar* to the corresponding words attested to by RtgJob. The similarity of the results, despite the use of different texts of 11Q10 and RtgJob, suggests that Fitzmyer's assessment (47.5%) is statistically reliable

ment of a particular terminology or classification, but rather as an illustration of Aramaic dialectology at work. According to Beyer, 11Q10 is written in Hasmonaean Aramaic (20), while the language of RtgJob should be classified as Galilean (Targumic) Aramaic (23), and that of Peshitta Job as Middle Syriac (43). The issue of formal classification will be discussed in greater detail below.

¹⁴² J. Fitzmyer, 'The First Century Targum', 161-182.

¹⁴³ J. Fitzmyer, 'The First Century Targum', 168. 'Similarity' as defined by Fitzmyer, includes not merely identical words, but also words displaying only orthographical differences, and words of the same root with either phonological or morphological differences.

¹⁴⁴ J. Fitzmyer, 'The First Century Targum', 169.

¹⁴⁵ For discussion of editions used see 'Texts' above. The use of critical editions of RtgJob and P-Job naturally highlights the point that the degree of similarity or dissimilarity to 11Q10 may potentially vary from MS to MS within the respective (RtgJob and P-Job) traditions. However, the low degree of similarity between the three Aramaic versions in general suggests that the greater or lesser similarity produced by this type of MS variation on occasion is probably coincidental and statistically insignificant.

(i.e., reproducible).¹⁴⁶ When Fitzmyer's comparison is extended to include P-Job, we find that of the same number of words (1278) preserved by 11Q10, a surprisingly large (and nearly equal) number of them, 606 (47.4%) are to be classified as *similar* to those contained within the Syriac translation. While the RtgJob similarity (48.8%) to 11Q10 is marginally higher than that obtained for P-Job (47.4%) it would be difficult to see this difference (1.4%) as statistically significant. In terms of the criteria set forth by Fitzmyer then, we see that P-Job and RtgJob are basically equal in their similarity to 11Q10. When phrased slightly differently, the statement is perhaps more startling: within these terms of reference, the Peshitta of Job is no more dissimilar to 11Q10 (the Qumran 'targum' of Job) than is its nominal cousin, the Rabbinic 'targum' of Job.

In addition to the lexical comparison, Fitzmyer draws attention to certain linguistic features which seem to indicate to his satisfaction, that the dialect of Aramaic used for the rendering of RtgJob dates from a considerably later period than does the variant of Aramaic used in 11Q10. Relevant features include:¹⁴⁷

1. The presence and absence of alaphs in nominal forms both prosthetically and initially in RtgJob (אִדָּא 'hand' RtgJob 21:5; אֲרַע 'arm' RtgJob 40:9; [א]נִשׁ 'man' RtgJob 25:6, 33:12, 34:11 etc.) in contrast to the corresponding forms attested to by 11Q10.
2. Fitzmyer sees other forms too (such as סֹנֵיָא RtgJob 35:6, 9 [vs. סִנְיָא 11Q10] and בִּישׁ without medial א RtgJob 31:29; 36:10) as indicating a later form of Aramaic.
3. Another indicator which suggests to Fitzmyer a later form of Aramaic is the presence in RtgJob of חֲמָא 'to see' (RtgJob 27:12; 29:8, 11; 33:26, 28; 36:25; 40:11; 42:5) etc) as opposed to 11Q10 which utilises חֲזָא 'to see'.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁶ Although in terms of words identified in 11Q10, as well as words similar between the two texts, Fitzmyer's totals are significantly higher, the reliability of the assessment is suggested by the fact that virtually an identical proportion between the two is obtained.

¹⁴⁷ J. Fitzmyer 'The First Century Targum', 170-71.

¹⁴⁸ While a MS from the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (Plut. III.I) reads חֲזָא for one of Fitzmyer's examples (40.11) the general picture as painted by Fitzmyer remains essentially undisturbed—חֲמָא is undoubtedly the preferred form for RtgJob.

4. While the 3rd masc. sg suffix on m.pl nouns found in RtgJob is consistently written as **־י** (21:21, 24; 24:13; 33:26, etc.,) the corresponding form provided by 11Q10 includes a medial *heh* which results in the earlier form **־יה**.
5. The contracted form of the existential particle and its negation, **אית** and **לית** found in RtgJob (25:3, 33:32; 38:28, neg. 22:5; 32:12) are contrasted with the older forms, **איתי** and **לא איתי** attested to by 11Q10.
6. The prevalence of analytic genitives (involving the interposing of **-ד**) in RtgJob and its minimal use of the construct is contrasted with 11Q10's almost exclusive use of the construct state.

The inclusion of P-Job in a comparison on the basis of Fitzmyer's features yields the following results. In terms of category 1, P-Job's allegiances are divided, providing a prosthetic *aleph* for its rendering of 'hand' (like RtgJob) while not doing so in its rendering of 'arm' (like 11Q10). Likewise, while P-Job sometimes agrees with 11Q10 in showing an initial *alaph* in expressions such as **בִּי אֵלֹהִים** (25:6) it may on occasion supply **בִּי אֵלֹהִים** (34:11) as does RtgJob. For category 2, again Peshitta Job agrees with 11Q10 in not including the *ayin* in **סוּגָה** (35:6, 9) but parallels RtgJob and diverges from 11Q10 in failing to include the medial *alaph* in **בִּי אֵלֹהִים**. As for the final four categories, Peshitta Job follows 11Q10 with respect to categories 3 and 4 but then follows RtgJob in the case of the last two categories. To an even greater extent than in the preceding lexical comparison, the inclusion of Peshitta Job in a linguistic comparison of the Aramaic versions of Job finds the Syriac of P-Job sharing certain linguistic features with 11Q10 which are not attested in the RtgJob.¹⁴⁹

A recent article by E.M. Cook on the language of Targum Onqelos and Jonathan bears witness to the current lack of consensus (methodological and otherwise) in the field of Aramaic dialectology. In it, Cook rightly criticises the isolation of certain linguistic features as definitive in terms of dialect classification, to the neglect of

¹⁴⁹ See K. Beyer, 'Der reichsaramäische Einschlag in der ältesten syrischen Literatur' *ZDMG* 116 (2) (1966) 242-54 for a discussion of the remnants of Imperial Aramaic in both the oldest Syriac material, and the language of the Peshitta.

others.¹⁵⁰ For the dialects of Middle Aramaic, he prefers to posit a dialect *continuum*, in which Syriac and the language of Targums Onqelos and Jonathan belong to a dialect group which he christens 'Central Aramaic' as they seem to contain both Eastern and Western Aramaic elements. While the Aramaic material from Qumran is, from a geographical point of view, undeniably Western, the implications of this 'Western' classification in terms of Aramaic dialectology are perhaps not as clear as they once were.¹⁵¹ In addition, the fact that Takamitsu Muraoka argues for the 'Eastern' origin of 11Q10 should be taken as fair warning against the dangers of holding *a priori* dialectological assumptions on the basis of a text's provenance.¹⁵² To further complicate the dialect classification of the Aramaic versions of Job, S.A. Kaufman suggests that despite the fact that Western elements may be detected in its midst, the Aramaic dialect most closely related to Late Jewish Literary Aramaic (the language of Ps-Jonathan, the targums of Psalms and most importantly for this discussion, RtgJob) is none other than Syriac.¹⁵³ It should be clear from the above summary that much work remains to be done in the field of Aramaic dialectology. This is not the purpose of the present study and it should be noted that the purpose of the above discussion is not to evaluate Fitzmyer's criterion for deciding on the relative dialectal position of the respective versions, nor is it to suggest that in terms of dialectological criteria, P-Job is

¹⁵⁰ E.M. Cook, 'A New Perspective', 149. Cook provides as an example, the classic isoglosses which are used to classify Syriac as an 'Eastern dialect' (*l/n* as the prefix of the 3rd impf. verbal form as opposed to *y*; *e* instead of *ayya* as the m. pl. emphatic; loss of emphatic force of *-a*; elimination of *n*- bearing suffixes in the imperfect indicative).

¹⁵¹ E.M. Cook, 'A New Perspective' gives a critical survey of the views of Kutscher, Tal and Greenfield, attempting to problematize terms such as 'Western Aramaic', 'Standard Literary Aramaic' and 'Aramaic *koine*'.

¹⁵² T. Muraoka, 'The Aramaic of the Old Targum', 425-443 includes among eastern characteristics: a) the abundance of non-assimilated forms; b) the presence of alephs marking the feminine singular and emphatic; c) evidence of the *status emphaticus* taking over the function of *status absolutus*; d) occurrence of the sumero-akkadian word order (where the verb follows the subject or object or both). See also R. Weiss, התרגום הארמי לספר איוב, 30 where he too notes the Eastern characteristics of the language of 11Q10 and suggests (rather than argues for) the possibility of its origins lying outside ancient Palestine.

¹⁵³ S.A. Kaufman, 'Dating the Palestinian Targums and their use in the study of First Century CE Texts' in D. Beattie and M. McNamara (eds.) *The Aramaic Bible: Targums in Historical Context*. SJOT Suppl. 166 (Sheffield: University of Sheffield Press, 1994) 125. C. Mangan, *The Targum of Job*, 13. comes to the exact opposite conclusion finding that Western forms predominate.

more or less closely related to 11Q10 than is RtgJob. Any possible conclusion of this sort could only be arrived at through a comprehensive comparison of all relevant linguistic features and such an assessment is not within the scope of the current study. The preceding discussion is intended only to suggest that if the fact of the dialectal dissimilarity between the Aramaic versions of Job is obvious, the exact nature of this dissimilarity and the linguistic grounds for preferring a comparison of the two ‘targums’ (11Q10 and RtgJob) as opposed to 11Q10 and Peshitta Job are by no means clear-cut or self-evident. Whatever the exact relationship between their Aramaic dialects, it is evident that the Qumran, Syriac and targum translations have been realised in marginally different linguistic forms of what is broadly speaking a single language. The point for this study is that within the historical, cultural, and ideological locations in which the respective translations took place, the fact of different linguistic realisations could not have been otherwise. That is to say, following the respective translators’ initial choice to translate into a given dialect of Aramaic (or any other language for that matter), they were to some extent prisoners—captive to a greater or lesser degree to the grammatical, lexical and orthographical constraints of their chosen target language. The question of the extent to which a translator is linguistically and/or stylistically captive to their chosen target language and poetics on one hand, and to what extent their deviations from the source text are reflections of a more personal attitude or approach are of course intimately bound up with questions of intentionality¹⁵⁴ and volition¹⁵⁵ in translation. In many cases, it will be quite obvious that target text deviations from the supposed source text are either intentional or unintentional, voluntary or involuntary. In other cases, however, the exact nature of the motivation behind such divergences—be they linguistic, stylistic, or ideological—may be far from obvious and will therefore require closer investigation. In the end, some cases will undoubtedly remain essentially undecideable. As was the case with regard to *Vorlage*, while linguistic (and in the present case dialectal) differences between the Aramaic versions of Job are not the primary concern

¹⁵⁴ H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 49.

¹⁵⁵ S.P. Brock, ‘Translating the Old Testament’, 87-98.

of the present study, it is recognised that the comparison which follows is intimately bound up with linguistic considerations and issues arising from such considerations will be dealt with as they are encountered in the course of the comparison.

Format of the Comparison

Previous commentaries on the relationship between 11Q10 and the versions have tended to be single-focus studies, with 11Q10 functioning as the base text and the versions cited only with reference to the Qumran text.¹⁵⁶ The weakness of the single-focus format is that while it documents 11Q10 divergences, it is ill-equipped to describe non-corresponding P-Job and RtgJob divergences and convergences.¹⁵⁷ The present study will therefore present passages synoptically and, for the purposes of the textual comparison, avoid privileging 11Q10 as the base-text. The inclusion of parallels drawn from modern English versions deserves some explanation. It should be noted at the outset that the comparison of ancient Aramaic renderings with their modern English counterparts is in no way meant to imply that the two target languages enjoy any particular cognate relationship (as is the case with for instance Hebrew and Aramaic). Nevertheless, while other ancient and modern versions may have been technically available for consultation in addition to the MT in the production of these modern English versions, the English versions cited in the course of this study represent explicit attempts to render the MT text and their treatment of these passages may shed some light on how linguistic-stylistic adaptation of a Hebrew source text may be realized in translation and, at the same time sensitize us to some of the approaches common to ancient and modern translators.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁶ For example, M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 7 n. 9: 'Cases where the ancient versions accord with Tg1 against MT have been pointed out in the commentary.'

¹⁵⁷ W.M. Smelik, *The Targum of Judges* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995) 190 in his discussion of methodology acknowledges the limitations of this type of 'one-sided' comparison.

¹⁵⁸ In a recent article, M. Bernstein, 'The "Given" Levites: Targumic Method and Method in the Study of the Targumim,' in P. Flesher (ed.) *Targum Studies 2* (Atlanta: 1998) 93-116 devotes an appendix to an examination of how modifications in Aramaic and Greek are occasionally paralleled in modern English versions.

In addition to the above considerations, it is worth noting that the present study resists (with varying degrees of success) the temptation to focus primarily or exclusively on the word as the unit for comparison.¹⁵⁹ While lexicographers have realised the importance of context in illuminating the meaning of a word,¹⁶⁰ many commentators unfortunately still choose to restrict their comparisons to the word unit.¹⁶¹ Rather than merely presenting parallel words, this study will present parallel passages (words + co-texts) for analysis.

While reference will be made on occasion to portions of P-Job and RtgJob which are not paralleled by sections preserved in 11Q10, the basic comparison (and therefore the data which may be considered in the forming of basic conclusions) will be restricted to the textual sections preserved in all three witnesses. While this decision undoubtedly entails the exclusion of much potentially interesting textual material, it is felt that the synoptic sample which remains is of sufficient size both to warrant systematic analysis and to sustain the conclusions which may be arrived at in such an analysis. This, so to speak, 'minimalist' approach has the benefit of encouraging the analysis to remain firmly grounded in the textual evidence at our disposal rather than in speculation regarding the unpreserved portions of 11Q10.

¹⁵⁹ B.E. Zuckerman, *The Process of Translation*; A.D. York, *A Philological and Textual Analysis*.

¹⁶⁰ For example, S.A. Kaufman, M. Sokoloff, E. Cook, *A key-word-in-context Concordance to Targum Neofiti: a guide to the complete Palestinian Aramaic text of the Torah* (London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993).

¹⁶¹ See W.M. Smelik, *The Targum of Judges*, 190 for a brief discussion of this issue.

PART ONE

OMISSION

CHAPTER 1

SHARED OMISSIONS

Of all the adjustments which may be made by translators in their adaptation of a source text to a target language, it is perhaps the omission of extraneous elements that most often goes undetected in an analysis. Although not substantiating his assertion, E. Nida suggests that with respect to biblical translation (and perhaps translation generally?) reductions in, or subtractions from, a source text are less numerous than expansions and have a correspondingly diminished structural importance within the translation transaction.¹⁶² The fact that Nida is to some extent operating with a prescriptive rather than a descriptive model of translation studies may, however, partially explain his diminishing of the importance of omission in translation.¹⁶³ From the perspective of Nida's stated aim of 'reproducing the closest natural equivalent'¹⁶⁴ of an element in the source text, the idea of the translator omitting material from the source text for reasons entirely unrelated to the linguistic-stylistic adaptation of the source text to the target language (i.e., theological-ideological) is clearly anathema. Nevertheless, as those familiar with ancient translation will undoubtedly affirm, the omission of material in translating ideologically sensitive texts may of course have a significant effect on the total content of the message and unlike the context in which Nida is operating (namely that of modern

¹⁶² E. Nida, *Toward a Science of Translating*, 231.

¹⁶³ Nevertheless, as we will see below, Nida certainly does create space within the framework of 'structural adjustments' for the category of subtraction/reduction. Although Nida's work has an undeniably prescriptive strain running through much of it (See for instance, E. Gentzler, *Contemporary Translation Theories* (London: Routledge, 1993) much of his work is foundational for subsequent translation studies in general, and biblical translation studies in particular.

¹⁶⁴ E. Nida, *Theory and practice of translation* (Leiden: 1982) 168.

biblical translation) factors such as lacunose source text or corrupt textual transmission of either the source or target text may enhance the importance of certain types of ‘minuses’ in the study of the relationship between ancient source and target texts.¹⁶⁵

For the student of ancient translations such as the Aramaic versions of Job, the identification, assessment and classification of omission in translation is in some respects more difficult than that of other modes of representation such as addition, substitution or transposition. In the case of these latter modes, the translation of course preserves if not the translation process itself, then at least the textual material from which a reconstruction of the translator’s motivation can theoretically take place. With omission on the other hand, the translator conceals, in some sense, the evidence of his activity and while the character of the minus may be partly revealed through a consideration of the unit omitted, all arguments are necessarily *e silentio*.¹⁶⁶ With these caveats (and others which will appear in due course) in mind, we turn then to an assessment of the phenomenon of omission in the Aramaic versions of Job. The orienting questions for the discussion which follows are:

1. Do any of the Aramaic versions leave elements of the source text unrepresented in their translations?
2. If so, what type of elements are omitted and what if any cause may be posited for their omission?
3. What light, if any does the phenomenon of omission (zero representation) shed on the question of the relationship between the Aramaic versions of Job?

¹⁶⁵ The Septuagint’s text of Job, for instance, lacking as it does an estimated 15-25% of the Hebrew text, (cf. J. Gray, ‘The Masoretic Text of the Book of Job...’) is presumably a prime example of the difference that *either* the translator’s radical omission of source text *or* antecedent or subsequent textual issues may have on an ancient version. (Of course it seems likely that both factors will have often played their own [often indistinguishable] part in the divergences displayed by most ancient versions).

¹⁶⁶ For instance, not only is it often possible to reconstruct a targumist’s motivation for inserting a ‘midrashic’ interpolation on the basis of the relationship between the added text and an element within the source text, but it is virtually inconceivable that such an addition could have been added by ‘accident’. Omission on the other hand may often be attributed to an error on the part of the translator or later copyist.

Following a presentation of examples from the respective Aramaic versions, we will attempt to draw some conclusions about the relationship between these translations. In the examples which follow, the Aramaic translations will contain numerous divergences from the source text which, while interesting in their own right, are not directly pertinent to this discussion of omission. Therefore the passages will not be treated exhaustively but rather presented and discussed only insofar as they make some contribution to the phenomena under consideration.

For the purposes of the following discussion, we make use of the general definition of omission utilised by Szpek.¹⁶⁷ As will be clear from some of the examples which follow, it will not always be entirely clear whether an element has been ‘omitted’ in the Aramaic version or whether some element should be identified as a ‘substitution’ for the source text element. Formally, however, the general conceptual distinction between ‘omission’ and ‘substitution’ as formulated by Szpek seems clear and beyond dispute.

A. Shared Omissions in the Aramaic Versions of Job

A1. Minus shared by all three Aramaic versions

Of all the material examined in the course of the present study, only one unequivocal example of a shared omission appears.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁷ H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 31: ‘The adjustment of omission involves the exclusion of a morpheme, word, phrase, clause or sentence with no replacement.’ While words such as ‘omission’ will on occasion be used interchangeably with more neutral terms such as ‘minus’, the motivating factor in each instance in which a source text element does not appear in one of the Aramaic versions will hopefully be made clear in the analysis. The general question of whether (and to what extent) adjustments in the Aramaic versions should be attributed to translator intervention or the variation contained in a supposed *Vorlage*, is dealt with at some length in the Conclusion below.

¹⁶⁸ It is possible that a preposition כ/כ in a difficult Hebrew context at 36:12 has been omitted by all three translators, however, the combination of an unclear Hebrew text and the intrusion of Aramaic idiom makes analysis problematic.

אִם-לְשֹׁבֵט אִם-לְאַרְצָךְ אִם-לְחֹסֶד יִמְצְאֶהוּ: 37:13

11Q10 הֵן לְמַכְתָּשׁ xxix, 4 הֵן לְאַרְעָא () הֵן לְכַפֵּן
וְחִסְרָנָה וְהֵן פְּתִגְמָא חֻבָּא לְהוּא xxix, 5 עֲלִיהָ

RtgJob אֵין מִטְרָא דְפּוֹרְעִנּוּתָא בִּימִיא וּבִמְדַבֵּר «י» אֵין מִיטְרָא
רְזִיא לְאִילָנֵי טוּרִיא וּגְלִימָתָא () אֵין נִיחָא דְחֹסְדָא לְחֻקְלִי
וּכְרַמִּי וּפִירִי יִסְפַּקְנִיה:

P-Job אֵין לְעִלְיָא אֵין לְאַרְעָא (). אֵין לְסִפְדָּא דְחֹסְדָּא בְּחַ

He brings the clouds to punish men, or to water his earth and show his love. NIV

Whether to punish () earth's peoples or as a work of faithful love, he despatches them. NJB

While the implausibility or incongruity of MT אִם-לְאַרְצָךְ 'whether for (the good of?) his land' in its present form and location¹⁶⁹ has led RtgJob to provide a radically expanded interpretation of the Hebrew clause מִיטְרָא רְזִיא לְאִילָנֵי טוּרִיא וּגְלִימָתָא ('gushing rain for the trees of the mountains and the hills')¹⁷⁰ P-Job and 11Q10 for their part have retained a proximate translation in their renderings (אֵין/לְאַרְעָא).¹⁷¹ However, the latter translations' omission of the 3 masc. sg. suffix in translation directs our attention back to RtgJob where we see that the suffix which would normally find representation in the targumist's Aramaic rendering has not been included.¹⁷² Although the determination of the precise relationship between the Hebrew text and its RtgJob translation is not without difficulty, it does seem likely in light of the other versions obvious

¹⁶⁹ S.R. Driver and G.B. Gray, *The Book of Job* I (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1921) 320; see R. Gordis, *The Book of Job* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1978) 428 for discussion of the various options and emendations.

¹⁷⁰ C. Mangan, *The Targum of Job*, 81 n.9; As R. Weiss, *התרגום הארמי לספר איוב*, 278 notes, while some elements of the Targum's interpretation to this verse are paralleled in b.Ta'anit 8b) not all elements are found in this particular text (including 'on the seas and in the deserts'). As is usually the case, determining whether the targum is reliant on the Rabbinic sources or vice versa is extremely problematic. See R. Weiss, *התרגום הארמי לספר איוב* for further discussion.

¹⁷¹ F. Martinez *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 11*, 148.

¹⁷² We might easily imagine the targumist rendering, for instance, 'gushing rain for the trees of *his* mountains and (*his*) hills.'

The irregular structure of Hebrew 36:7b has prompted considerable innovative activity on the part of the Aramaic translators.¹⁷⁵ Both 11Q10 and P-Job appear to have understood the preposition in MT אֶת־מְלָכִים ‘with kings’ as the *nota accusativi* and rendered the phrase accordingly as the direct object of a verb ([P-Job] ܐܬܡܠܟܝܢ / [11Q10] ܠܡܠܟܝܢ ܝܬܒܝܢ ܥܢܝܠ).¹⁷⁶ While all three Aramaic versions have provided a form of Aramaic יָתַב ‘to sit’, the translators of 11Q10 (יִתְּבֻּ) and P-Job (ܝܬܒܝܢ) have apparently intended their rendering of יִשְׁׁיבֵם ‘and he seats them’ to refer to 7b and have thus diverged from the word order of MT in moving their translations of this verbal form toward the front of the Aramaic clause. RtgJob has also provided a form of this verb (ܠܡܬܒ) in response to the perceived problem at hand but a transposition has not occurred because the targumist also provides an appropriate equivalent (ܘܐܘܬܒܢܘܢ) for יִשְׁׁיבֵם in a location which corresponds to that of the MT. Although the 3rd masc. pl. objective suffix has been retained in RtgJob’s translation of the Hebrew, the translators of the Syriac and Qumran texts have obviously omitted this element as superfluous in their newly reconstituted Aramaic versions of the Hebrew. While the NIV does show a type of transposition in some ways related to that 11Q10 and P-Job, it retains the suffix of the Hebrew in its English rendering.

A3. Minus shared by 11Q10 and RtgJob

There are no instances where these two versions show an omission of the same element of the Hebrew text in their respective Aramaic renderings.

¹⁷⁵ יִשְׁׁיבֵם ‘and he sits them’ seems to be related to the preceding clause (וְאַת־מְלָכִים לִפְסָא) despite the occurrence of the *waw*. R. Gordis, *The Book of Job*, 414 attributes the Hebrew irregularity to the metrical requirements of the poet.

¹⁷⁶ See G. Rignell, *The Peshitta to the Book of Job*, 299 (P-Job); M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 137; ATQ, 51; F. Martinez et al., *Qumran Cave 11*, 141. (11Q10).

A4. *Minus shared by RtgJob and P-Job*

There are no instances where these two versions show an omission of the same element of the Hebrew text in their respective Aramaic renderings.

Summary of Shared Omissions among the Aramaic versions

Given that 11Q10, P-Job and RtgJob are all three renderings of a putatively similar Hebrew *Vorlage* into distinct but related dialects of Aramaic, it is perhaps rather surprising that these versions do not find themselves in agreement more often in terms of omission at identical junctures in the text.¹⁷⁷ Certainly, this lack of shared omissions lends further weight to the conclusion that these versions are not reliant on each other in any demonstrable manner. What, if anything may then be said on the basis of the paucity of examples put forward in the above discussion? Both the single minus shared by all three versions and that shared only by 11Q10 and P-Job are suffixes (one pronominal, the other objective) and both occur in contexts in which the Hebrew text is, if not necessarily problematic, then at least in some measure, irregular. For all three versions in the first case (A1) the omission of the suffix is an example of the normal priority of fidelity to the Hebrew text being overridden by a desire to harmonise a perceived incongruity with the surrounding grammatical context. The second example of omission on the other hand (A2) seems to be tied up inextricably with other modifications of the Hebrew text which have rendered the suffix redundant or superfluous in its new Aramaic context. Although the material mustered thus far is meagre it does shed some light on the issue of omission in the Aramaic versions. Admittedly slightly different in terms of motivation, both omissions should be classified as being either directly or indirectly related to linguistic-stylistic adaptation of the source text. While the examples of precise agreement are, as we have seen scarce, both the type of omission (bound morpheme) and

¹⁷⁷ Even in light of the seemingly unassailable conclusion that the three Aramaic versions constitute independent renderings (H.M. Szpek 'On the Influence of the Targum'), one might expect a certain amount of agreement.

motivations for omission illustrated in the above examples will recur in the following analysis of the versions in their own right.

CHAPTER 2

11Q10

Although previous work on the Aramaic versions of Job has not primarily concerned itself with modes of representation, deficiencies of the respective Aramaic target texts *vis-à-vis* their assumed MT-type *Vorlage* have been documented on an *ad hoc* basis by scholars who have explored these texts. With respect to 11Q10, E. Tuinstra's mention of omission is primarily limited to a discussion of the *waw* conjunction.¹⁷⁸ The original editors of the text, for their part, note that despite other similarities to LXX Job, 11Q10 does not parallel the Greek version in lacking sizeable portions which appear in the Hebrew text.¹⁷⁹ Sokoloff notes the absence of material in 11Q10 which has been preserved in the Hebrew text but does not elaborate on the source of such minuses.¹⁸⁰ The following discussion is therefore the first attempt at a sustained analysis of omission in the Qumran text. While a quick glance through the extensive collection of variants preserved in the critical apparatus of both P-Job and (to an even greater extent) RtgJob bears witness to the effect that textual transmission can leave an indelible mark on a given text(s), both the targum and Syriac versions of Job have, by and large, been preserved in their entirety.¹⁸¹ The Aramaic text from Qumran on the other hand differs from these versions in having been preserved in only one manuscript and in having spent the better part of two millennia, not in a library but in a desert cave near the settlement at

¹⁷⁸E.W. Tuinstra, *Hermeneutische Aspecten*, 49. See chapter 11 for the Aramaic versions' treatment of *waw*.

¹⁷⁹*Editio princeps*, 7.

¹⁸⁰M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 7.

¹⁸¹Possible exceptions to this general rule in P-Job are dealt with in the next chapter.

Qumran.¹⁸² The conditions in which 11Q10 was stored mean that the text has understandably suffered considerable deterioration in the course of its stay in the desert and is extant now only in a fragmentary state. The unfortunate state of some preserved portions of 11Q10 has implications for the analysis of the phenomenon of textual minus because in particularly fragmentary sections, it is not always clear if an omission should be attributed to the activity of the translator or to the elements which have progressively degraded the manuscript. Sometimes the main reason for supposing that a minus has occurred in the text of 11Q10 is simply the apparent lack of space sufficient to contain even a word-for-word rendering of the source text.¹⁸³ This situation is illustrated by the following examples:

19:14 חָדְלוּ קְרוֹבֵי וּמִידְעֵי שְׂכֻחוֹנֵי:

() 11Q10

RtgJob פֶּסֶקוֹ קְרִיבֵי וּמִיּוֹדְעֵי/וַאֲשֶׁת־מוֹדְעֵי אֲנִשְׁוֹנֵי:

P-Job פֶּסֶקוֹ מִיּוֹדְעֵי וְקְרוֹבֵי אֲנִשְׁוֹנֵי.

My relatives and my close friends have failed me NRSV

The beginning of 11Q10 column ii, line 3 clearly preserves the Aramaic rendering of the middle portion of Job 19:13 (הֲרָחֲקוּ וִידְעֵי ב. [...]/הֲרָחֲקוּ וִידְעֵי) but the following line 4 begins with MT v.15 (בֵּיתִי אֲמַתִּי לִנְכַר־י [...]/בֵּיתִי וְאֶמְהָתִי לְנֹר). In light of this, the editors and subsequent commentators have suggested that, given the normal column measurements, there is insufficient space in 11Q10 for the Aramaic translation of all or part of a rendering of 19:14. Assuming that 11Q10's text is lacking material at

¹⁸² For discussion of the preservation and extent of 11Q10 see Introduction.

¹⁸³ *Editio princeps*, 7. 'Parfois on peut conclure à l'absence de quelques versets dans des parties perdues du texte, lorsqu'on constate que la lacune entre deux fragments est beaucoup plus petite qu'elle ne devrait être normalement.' For a full listing of the 'vital statistics' involved in the reconstruction of the column size see F. Martinez *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 11*, 81-5.



this point, it seems most likely that the omission of v.13b-14a may have taken place due to homoioteleuton.¹⁸⁴

An error of a similar sort has also taken place at 33:12:

הֵן-זֹאת לֹא-צְדָקָתָ אֶעֱנֶנְךָ כִּי-יִרְבֶּה אֱלֹהִים מֵאָנוּשׁ: 33:12
 11Q10 ... רגלי וסכר כןל ... [v.12a?] xxii, 6 ארו רב אלהא מן אנשא [...] ...
 RtgJob הא דא לא זכאית דאיתבנך ארום יתרוב אלהא מן בר-נש:
 P-Job במזא לא מצבת אנט למזא. אהל לך פלגא דזב סה
 אלמא כן אנט.

Behold, in this you are not right. I will answer you. God is greater than man. RSV

An examination of the photograph (*DJD* 23, Plate XII) suggests that, as many commentators have noted, there does not seem to be enough room for a rendering of 33:12a.¹⁸⁵ While the end of the previous line (5) is not preserved it is difficult to see how an equivalent of Hebrew v.12a ('Behold you are wrong in this—I will answer you') might be squeezed in before the beginning of the following line where a translation of v.12b clearly begins. Tuinstra has noted that while the LXX does not omit v12a, its rendering does noticeably weaken the force of the MT (LXX: πῶς γὰρ λέγεις δίκαιός εἰμι καὶ οὐκ ἐπακήκοέν μου) and on this basis, he has suggested that a translation of the Hebrew may have been omitted by the translator of 11Q10 in order to protect the reputation of Job.¹⁸⁶ While this is a possibility, other explanations should also be considered. Perhaps the material was not in the translator's *Vorlage* or, as has been suggested by Sokoloff, perhaps this part of the verse has been omitted by a copyist

¹⁸⁴ *Editio princeps*, 15; B. Jongeling, *Een Aramees boek Job*, 41; B.E. Zuckerman, *The Process of Translation*, 92. The occurrence of this common textual phenomenon here is suggested by the similarity of וְיִדְעִי (v.14) and וְיִדְעִי (v.15).

¹⁸⁵ For reconstructed widths of sheets and columns see F. Martinez *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 11*, 83-4.

¹⁸⁶ E.W. Tuinstra, *Hermeneutische Aspecten*, 21.

due to homoioteleuton.¹⁸⁷ Once again, however, any conclusions are necessarily tentative due to the fact that the textual minus may only be inferred from a lack of space.

A similar situation appears to obtain later on, in the Qumran translation of Job 31:10:

תִּטְטֶנָּה לְאַחֶר אִשְׁתִּי וְעַלֶּיהָ יִכְרְעוּן אַחֲרָיוֹן: 31:10

11Q10 תִּטְטֶנָּה [...]]

תִּשְׁמַשׁ עִם חֹרֶן אֶתְתִּי/אֶתְתִּי וְעַלֶּיהָ יִכְרְעוּן חֹרְנִין: RtgJob

P-Job אֶלְּ אֲשֶׁר לֹא־יִכְרַע אֶתְתִּי, הֵאֱרָא בְּהִכָּה אֶתְתִּי.

then let my wife grind for another, and let others bow down upon her. RSV

While RtgJob provides an alternative equivalent, the Qumran translation begins line 3 of col. xviii with a cognate equivalent of MT תִּטְטֶנָּה (MT 31:10)¹⁸⁸ At the end of the same line, however, where the text is again preserved, the Qumran translation corresponds to the middle of MT v.11 (אֶתְתִּי וְעַלֶּיהָ יִכְרַעוּן) (xviii, 4) and the gap which intervenes on line 3 does not appear to be of a sufficient size to contain a translation of verse 10 in its entirety. Some have suggested that this abridgement may be related to the potentially offensive sentiment of v.10b ('let others bend over her [my

¹⁸⁷ M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 131. This suggestion relies on the observation that both Hebrew הָן (beginning of v12a) and כִּי (beginning of verse 12b) may be translated by Aramaic אֲרִי in 11Q10. It is quite easily conceivable that a copyist's eye might have passed over v12a after having copied the first occurrence of this Aramaic word.

¹⁸⁸ The Rabbinic targum's translation of Heb. תִּטְטֶנָּה 'let her [i.e., my wife] grind' with Aramaic תִּשְׁמַשׁ 'let her sleep [euph. for intercourse]' clearly indicates that the translator has understood the Hebrew to have a sexual connotation. For discussion of 'grinding' as an allusion to the sexual act here, see A. Brenner and F. van Dijk-Hemmes, *On Gendering Texts: Female and Male Voices in the Hebrew Bible* (Brill, 1993) 143. As R. Gordis, *The Book of Job*, 346 has noted, this connection is made both in midrashic (Gen. Rabba 48 [end]) and talmudic (b.Sotah 10a) literature but is also followed by the Vulgate. This passage here in Job is cited in support of this meaning in the Midrash. E. Dhorme, *A Commentary on the Book of Job*, 454 is of the opinion that both Tg and Vulg. have followed the Rabbinic interpretation and while this seems most likely the direction of influence is difficult to determine. See also LXX which may have provided a euphemistic translation (but cf. Dhorme) which would suggest a sexual interpretation (ἀρέσαι[from ἀρέσσω 'to please'])).

wife]’).¹⁸⁹ B. Jongeling in fact goes so far as to suggest that this should be seen as an illustration of the Rabbinic injunctions restricting the targumist’s normal treatment of certain passages.¹⁹⁰ It is worth noting, however, that this practise of omission in the rabbinic targums seems to have been restricted primarily to the exclusion of certain passages from targumic *readings* (i.e., a synagogue setting) as opposed to their omission from *written* targum texts which seem likely to have also been used in other contexts.¹⁹¹ This understanding is to some extent supported by the fact that none of the passages marked out for special treatment in rabbinic sources are to be found in the targums to the writings.¹⁹² It is perhaps not surprising then, that although the targumist responsible for RtgJob has offered an apparently euphemistic translation of this verse, he has clearly felt no qualms *per se* about including a translation of the verse. While the Qumran text itself provides no evidence of a liturgical use, it is certainly possible that there may indeed be euphemism at work here in the Qumran text. But even if, as Klein has shown to be the case, the Palestinian targumim do actually omit an Aramaic translation of the Hebrew (as opposed to Tg. Onkelos’ provision of prohibitive ‘reading notes’ in the margin) it is crucial to note that in such cases the Hebrew text is supplied in its stead and the formal integrity of the text is preserved intact, with each element receiving representation.¹⁹³ If insufficient space in 11Q10 does indicate an *omission* of text due to euphemism, it is interesting to note that this is clearly not an approach which the producers of the Rabbinic targumim have utilised to any great extent. In this case unfortunately, the poor preservation of the Qumran text once again does not allow us to move beyond speculation to anything like a definitive conclusion.

¹⁸⁹ *Editio princeps*, 46; F. Martinez *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 11*, 123; E.W. Tuinstra, *Hermeneutische Aspecten*, 18.

¹⁹⁰ B. Jongeling, *Een Aramees boek Job*, 81.

¹⁹¹ This is noted both by P.A. Alexander, ‘The Rabbinic Lists of Forbidden Targumim’ *JJS* 27 (1976) 187 and M. Klein, ‘Not to be Translated in Public—לא מתרגם בציבורא’ *JJS* 39 (1988) 88.

¹⁹² For the relationship between the main rabbinic sources of this information (m.Meg 4.10; t.Meg. 4.31; b.Meg 25a/b) see P.S. Alexander, ‘The Rabbinic Lists of Forbidden Targumim’; M.L. Klein, ‘Not to be Translated in Public—לא מתרגם בציבורא’.

¹⁹³ M.L. Klein, ‘Not to be Translated in Public’, 191.

In a final example from 39:10, it is not so much a question of whether material has been omitted but rather which of two elements (prepositional phrase or noun) preserved in the MT has not been rendered in the Qumran translation.

39:10 הַתְּקַשְׁר־רִים בְּתֵלָם עֲבַתּוֹ אִם-יִשְׁדֹּד עֲמָקִים אַחֲרָיָה:
 11Q10 הַתְּקַטְרָן (ב/נִירִיָּה וִיס) [בְּקַעָה אַחֲרָיָה
 RtgJob אִיפְשָׁר/אוֹשֵׁר דִּתְקַטֹּר רִימְנָא בְּתֵלָמָא דָא/שִׁישְׁלִיָּה
 אִין יִשְׁדֹּד גְּלִימְתָא מִן-בְּתֵרָךְ:

P-Job דִּלְמָא אִשְׁוֹ אֵלֶּם נָא בְּ מִלְּמָ דְּנִירָא. מְדַבֵּר פְּדִיָּה בְּאֵלֶּיָּה בְּשִׁמְרָא.

Can you bind him in the furrow with ropes, or will he harrow the valleys after you? RSV

Because the first of the two small lacunae in 11Q10's translation is not large enough to contain Aramaic translations of both Hebrew 'ox' רִים and 'to a furrow', בְּתֵלָם, scholars have suggested that it is the equivalent to the former (רִימְנָא) which must be reconstructed in the gap.¹⁹⁴ While the identity of the substantive to which it has been added is debated, the 3rd masc. sg. suffix of 11Q10 בְּנִירִיָּה is clearly evident and would seem to require an antecedent.¹⁹⁵ In light of the preservation of an Aramaic verb form (הַתְּקַטְרָן) which appears to closely approximate the Hebrew, the reconstruction of the object (רִימְנָא) is not, however, the only option. As Pope observes, רִים has been omitted in the LXX and it seems quite possible that 11Q10 may also have omitted the implied object which has already been provided, in any case, in 39:9.¹⁹⁶ Despite providing a proximate

¹⁹⁴ The somewhat tentative conclusion of the *Editio princeps* (75) has been followed by M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 90. See F. Martinez *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 11*, 156 for more detailed discussion of the spacing of the text.

¹⁹⁵ The reading of 11Q10 is open to conjecture here (בְּנִירִיָּה *Editio princeps*, 74; ATQ, 62. F. Martinez *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 11*, 156; both meaning 'rope'). The reading of M. Sokoloff above tallies with that of P-Job's translation נָא (meaning 'yoke') and seems fairly reasonable in the light of P-Job's similar translation of a general Hebrew term for cords or ropes in 39:5.

¹⁹⁶ M. Pope suggests that this substantive may have been a gloss in the Hebrew text. In this connection, it is interesting to note that the English translation provided by RSV provides a pronominal reference 'him'

equivalent of בְּתֵלֶם ‘to a furrow’ at 36:28, P-Job translates this phrase here with אַל מִלְכּוֹ ‘upon his neck’. This may suggest that the translator has felt the awkwardness of the Hebrew construction in the present context and sought to provide a smoother rendering. If it is clear that some part of the Hebrew text has gone unrepresented in the Aramaic version of Job from Qumran, the question of which element of the text has been passed over or omitted is in this case undecidable.¹⁹⁷

As we have seen above, the fragmentary preservation of the Qumran translation of Job does from time to time allow the inference of a textual minus in comparison with the MT and its two other Aramaic versions.¹⁹⁸ A marginally more clear case of a minus arises when it is evident that a particular element in the MT has not been represented in a corresponding order in the Aramaic translation provided by 11Q10. In fact, were it safe to assume that the Qumran translation reproduces the word order of the MT in all cases, the evident lack of such Aramaic equivalents would provide us with certain cases of material omitted in translation. Such assumptions regarding word order are clearly unwarranted (see chapter 6 below) and thus the possibility must be admitted that a ‘missing’ word or phrase may have been represented in a neighbouring portion of 11Q10’s

rather than repeating the noun.

¹⁹⁷ Interestingly, E. Dhorme, *A Commentary on the Book of Job*, 602 without apparent reference to the Syriac, favours an emendation of the Hebrew which results in: הֲתִקְשֶׁר בְּעֵנְקוֹ עֵבֶת ‘Will you bind a rope about his neck?’ Either the translator of P-Job has read a different *Vorlage* or has simply modified the text in order to provide an intelligible rendering for his readers.

¹⁹⁸ In addition to the above examples, 11Q10 also appears to be lacking a translation of Job 21:23. The potentially largest instance of omission in 11Q10 is unfortunately also amongst the most dubious. (M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 7; B. Jongeling, *Een Aramees boek Job*, 151) The editors assessment that the remaining number of lines in Column XXXVIII and a single line at the top of XXXIX would be sufficient to contain a translation of vv 12-17 would seem to be accurate: a simple word count of the text omitted between the last preserved line of Col XXXVII and the first line preserved substantially in Column XXXVIII (approx. 70) corroborates the editors’ suggestion that 11Q10 may well have contained a translation of some sort in the portion of the scroll now lost to us. Furthermore, the suggestion that 11Q10 did contain a translation of these verses is strengthened by the apparent joins of Fragments V and W by F. Martinez *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 11*, 170; (K. Beyer, *Die Aramäischen Texte*, 298 also provides a translation of the beginning of v.12) Although little can be made of the text, it does seem clear that there was text on the line below line 8 of this column and that therefore sufficient space does (or did) exist for a translation of the remainder of the book.

translation which has since been lost to the elements. This situation is illustrated by the following passage drawn from Job 21,

21:24 עֲטִינִיו מִלֵּאן חֵלֶב וּמִחַ עֲצָמוֹתָיו יִשְׁקָהּ: 21:25 וְזֶה יָמוֹת בְּנִפְשׁ
 11Q10 [...] גרמודי _____? ([21:25] דן ימות בנפֿשׁ [...])
 RtgJob {ג} «ב» יזוהי אתמליאו חלבא ומו {רק} «קר» א דגרמודי פטים:
 P-Job מִחֲבֵס, חֲלִי אִזְכָּר. מִחֲבֵס, חֲלִי חֲסֵס.

His buckets are full of milk, and there is no loss of strength in his bones. BBE

His pails are full of milk, And the marrow of his bones is moistened. ASV

Here at 21:24, we see that all three Aramaic versions have represented the Hebrew lexeme עֲצָמוֹתָיו ‘his bones’ with the expected suffixed equivalent גרמודי/חֲבֵס. P-Job and RtgJob (and most English versions including the ASV, ‘is moistened’) follow the MT in preserving an equivalent to the verbal element (יִשְׁקָהּ) in a position *after* the subject (P-Job: חֲלִי ; RtgJob: פטים). The Qumran translation by contrast, appears to preserve גרמודי ‘his bones’ as the final word in its rendering of Job 21:24. That this is the case is shown by the fact that the words which appear immediately following this Aramaic lexeme on the same line in the Qumran text correspond clearly to the beginning of MT 21:25 (וְזֶה יָמוֹת בְּנִפְשׁ...). Although at least one English version (BBE) also provides an equivalent (‘his bones’) in the final position of its rendering of the verse, the remainder of the English translation shows that whatever the formal imprecision of its rendering, the verbal component has in fact been taken into account in the translation process.¹⁹⁹ In the case of 11Q10, however, we of course do not have access to the text now lost in the lacuna and therefore it remains uncertain whether we are dealing with an outright minus or rather simply a removal of the verbal equivalent to a prior position in the re-ordered Aramaic equivalent clause.

¹⁹⁹ The English Bible in Basic English is a now infrequently used version published originally in 1965 (Cambridge Press).

With the above cases, we have seen that our analysis of textual minuses is impaired by the less than ideal state of the Qumran manuscript.²⁰⁰ In other instances, we may conclude with greater certainty that a minus does in fact occur in the Qumran text but, at the same time, still be comparatively uncertain about the precise cause of the textual minus. The theoretical possibility that 11Q10 (or any translation for that matter) lacks an element vis-à-vis the 'source text' because its version of the source text was for whatever reason deficient in this respect must always be considered.²⁰¹ While in the case of P-Job, discussion of the causes of textual deficiencies in relation to the Hebrew may be located within the context of the wider corpus of Peshitta translation, the Qumran text lacks a comparable body of material from which to extract general principles.²⁰² Nevertheless, in various locations throughout the Qumran text, scholars have, with varying degrees of unanimity, hypothesised that 11Q10's lack of a particular textual equivalent to the MT is due not to ideological, linguistic or stylistic influences but is rather to be attributed to a difference of underlying *Vorlage* or alternatively to an error of omission by the translator or a later copyist of the translation. An example which clearly illustrates this point is provided by the Qumran version of Job 34:25:

לְכֵן יִפֹּר מֵעֲבֹדֵיהֶם וְהָפֹךְ לַיְלָה וַיִּדְכָּאוּ: 34:25

תַּחַת-רָשָׁעִים סִפְקָם בְּמִקְוֹם רְאִים: 34:26

[... יחכ]ם עבדהון (34:25b+v.26a) וירמא המון באת[ר ...]

RtgJob בגין כן יהודע מעבדיהון והפך ליליא ומתדככין/ומידככין:

P-Job מִן מִלֵּא אֲצֻלְהוּ אֵלֶּה מִן חֲבֻלָּתָם. הַנִּסְפָּא אֵלֶּה לַלֵּלָה.

Thus, knowing their works, he overturns them in the night, and they are crushed. (v.26) He strikes them for their wickedness in the sight of men,... RSV

²⁰⁰ It is of course no coincidence that most of the above examples are drawn from the fragments rather than from the better preserved material found on the so-called 'small scroll' (See Introduction).

²⁰¹ M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 7. For preliminary discussion see Introduction: *Vorlage*.

²⁰² While one might debate the utility or accuracy of generalisations regarding the translation technique of the Peshitta as a whole (see for instance, M.P. Weitzman, 'The Interpretive Character', 587-611) it is at the very least, a coherent and plausible concept given a complete corpus.

As may be seen above, 11Q10's rendering of verse 25 appears to end with its translation of MT מַעֲבָדֵיהֶם 'their works'. As the material following seems to correspond closely to the latter portion of v.26 in the Hebrew it seems clear that both v.25b and the first portion of v. 26a have not been included in 11Q10's translation of the Hebrew.²⁰³ This suggests that either this material has been omitted by the translator or was not present in his *Vorlage* and as there does not appear to be any likely reason for its exclusion on literary, stylistic or ideological grounds, it seems probable (but of course not certain) that some or all of this textual material was not in the Hebrew at this point.²⁰⁴

A different type of minus appears in the Qumran text's version of 36:29 where it is a single word which is lacking in the translation of the Hebrew.²⁰⁵

36:29 אַךְ אִם-יָבִין מִפְּרָשֵׁי-עַבְדְּךָ תִּשְׁאֹלֹת סִפְתָּךְ:
 11Q10 הֵן vacat מִן פֶּרֶס 7 xxviii, [.....] תָּה מִן טָלָל
 RtgJob לַחֲדוֹד אֵין אַתְבִּיין פֶּרִישְׁתָּא דַּעִיבָא רִיכְפַת עֲנִיָּה טָלָלִיה:
 P-Job הַחֲדוֹד טָלָלִי. הַפֶּרֶס חֲדָא מִן שַׁחֲרָא דַּחֲלָלִי.

Can any one understand the spreading of the clouds, the thunderings of his pavilion? RSV

²⁰³ 11Q10's translation of סִפְתָּךְ (סִפַּק 'to strike or clap (hands?) with וַיִּרְמָא דַּחֲמוֹן 'and he throws them...' attests to the translator's inadequate comprehension of this Hebrew lexeme. While the addition/substitution of the independent plural pronoun (הֵן) is due to language difference, the choice of verb may show the influence of Heb. וַיִּפְּךָ 'and he overturned/overthrew' which appears in v.25b. If this is the case (by no means certain), it would certainly problematise the suggestion that 11Q10 has omitted v.25b due to its absence from the translator's *Vorlage*.

²⁰⁴ The editors (*Editio princeps*, 60) do not provide an evaluation of the situation but merely observe that 'Le traducteur n'a pas traduit le verset 25b (et les deux premiers mots du verset 26); dans G cet hémistiche est *sub asterisco*.' The fact that the omission of 25b is paralleled in LXX may provide some measure of support for the theory that this represents a variant text, but this does not explain the lack of v.26a in 11Q10. The later editors, F. Martinez *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 11*, 137) classify this omission as due to a variant *Vorlage*.

²⁰⁵ An error of omission involving a single character occurs at 41:12 where 11Q10 translates Hebrew מִן נַחֲרִירוֹה (י) with Aramaic מִנְחִירִי. Comparison with P-Job מִן נַחֲרִירוֹה (י) makes it seem likely that the *yodh* which would be expected at the end of מִן נַחֲרִירוֹה (י) has been omitted due to haplography (*Editio princeps*, 83; F. Martinez *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 11*, 167).

It is quite clear from the above example that the translator of 11Q10 has left a *vacat* in the text where the Aramaic equivalent to יָבִין would be expected. Certainly it appears that P-Job's translation of MT אִם-יָבִין reflects the challenge presented by this Hebrew expression.²⁰⁶ While H. Szpek suggests that it is the ambiguity of the multi-purpose particle אִם which has led to P-Job's translation, her explanation provides only part of the answer.²⁰⁷ P-Job has seemingly responded to this problem by referring to a similar context in chapter 26. After chapter 26 opens with a proclamation of divine sovereignty over the watery forces above and below (vv. 26:6-13) verse 14b concludes יְתְּבוֹנֶן וְרַעַם גְּבוּרָתוֹ מִי יִתְּבוֹנֶן 'But the power of his thunder **who can understand**'. It is clear that the latter portion of this rendering (ܡܢܗ ܢܬܒܢ) provides a precise parallel to the form found here in v.29. Turning our attention back to 11Q10, because the Qumran text is not preserved in its entirety, it is difficult to be certain about the precise effect which this *vacat* has on the understanding of the verse as a whole. While the obvious lacuna where an equivalent to the Hebrew verbal form would be expected clearly attests to the textual minus in the translator's text, the question remains: why has an equivalent not been included? Again we are left to wonder whether the translator has perhaps found his *Vorlage* illegible or corrupt at this point and left a blank to indicate this or, alternatively, that the translator was planning on returning to the passage but later neglected to do so for some reason.²⁰⁸

At 39:24, we again encounter the phenomenon of omission but in this case it is a matter of not merely a single word gone missing, but most or all of a verse,

²⁰⁶ The Hebrew may be understood as 'Can anyone understand?' or 'Indeed, can one understand?' For the Hebrew text see R. Gordis, *The Book of Job*, 420-1.

²⁰⁷ H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 229.

²⁰⁸ As suggested by M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 141.

the possibility that this Aramaic phrase is intended to do double duty for the end of v.24 and the beginning of v.25 does not explain why the remainder of verse 24 is clearly lacking from 11Q10's translation. Again, as there does not seem to be anything worthy of omission from a theological or ideological stand-point, the most likely remaining possibilities are either: a) the translator or a subsequent copyist has omitted the text by accident, or b) the translator's *Vorlage* did not contain this verse.

With the above examples then, we seem at least to be on firmer ground in concluding that an actual textual minus has occurred in the Qumran translation. However, unlike substitutions or additions where the translation provides the evidence from which to reconstruct the genetic relationship between a source text and the divergent translation, a minus offers less evidence. If neither an ideological nor linguistic-stylistic motivation for the minus can be plausibly reconstructed, we are left to assume that the omission must be in some sense beyond the translator's control, i.e. an element has been omitted erroneously (either due to the translator's own error or—in the case of an already deficient *Vorlage*—that of the person or persons responsible for transmitting his *Vorlage*).²¹²

The above example suggests the possibility that the translator's decision to omit textual material found in his source text may stem from some type of textual difficulty. H. Szpek, in her work on the Syriac version of Job suggests that 'an alteration is said to be motivated by a textual difficulty when the Hebrew text presents a form that consonantly or vocally may be questionable.'²¹³ Of course the textual difficulty of Job in particular has long been recognised. Marvin Pope, in the introduction to his commentary on Job, joins a long list of eminent scholars in concluding that '...the Book of Job is

²¹² 11Q10's translation of 35:13 provides another case of an omission whose motivation is uncertain (see text of 35:13 in chapter 3 below). The translator of 11Q10 has omitted the negative 𐤀𐤌 in its translation of 35:13 and both the original (*Editio princeps*, 63) and most recent (F. Martinez *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 11*, 139) editors of the text are uncertain as to whether this omission has been made erroneously or intentionally in order to avoid the suggestion of a limitation of God's power (E.W. Tuinstra, *Hermeneutische Aspecten*, 26).

²¹³ H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 45. The example cited by Szpek following this definition is that of P-Job's rendering (ܡܫܝܚܐ) of a Qere/Ketib in the MT at 24:6a.

textually the most vexed in the Old Testament.’²¹⁴ In fact Pope apparently considered following Gray and Driver in omitting particularly difficult passages, ultimately deciding against it, however, ‘...because it is hard to decide how to grade degrees of difficulty and uncertainty and to know when to despair. The size of the Book of Job would be greatly reduced if all the difficult passages were omitted.’²¹⁵ The fact that experienced Hebraists equipped with the arsenal of the modern Semitic philologist are forced to contemplate the omission of material in translation due to the ‘vexed’ nature of its text should serve as a reminder that deciphering the text of Job is no easy matter. It would be churlish to suggest that Pope’s inclusion of difficult material in his translation on one hand, as opposed to Driver and Gray’s omission on the other, in anyway reflects a greater or lesser degree of Hebrew proficiency on the part of the respective commentators. This difference of approach, however, does serve to highlight the fact that whether a text is to be classified as ‘questionable’ or not depends to a large extent on the respective attitudes and abilities of the respective Aramaic translators. In light of this, the present study is particularly concerned with passages which have been perceived by the ancient Aramaic translator or translators as presenting textual difficulties; while some of the passages to be encountered below no longer pose insurmountable problems for the modern Hebraist, several others which have troubled the Aramaic translators do remain ‘difficult’ even for the modern commentator.

29:7 בְּצִאתִי שַׁעַר עָלִי-קִרְתָּ בְּחֹב אֶבֶן מִשְׁבִּי:

[...] 11Q10 [ב] צִפְרִין בְּתַרְעִי (____) קִרְיָא בְּשׁוּק[א] ...

RtgJob במפקי תרעא עלוי קרתא בפלטיא בפתאה אתקין מותבי:

P-Job כִּי נִפְסַם לְמִזְבֵּחַ הַמִּזְבֵּחַ אֶתְּ כִּסֵּא הַמִּלְכָּה.

When I went out (to) the gate (____) of the city, when I prepared my seat in the square, RSV

²¹⁴ See M. Pope, *Job*, xliii for a brief survey of like-minded Hebraists.

²¹⁵ See for instance S.R. Driver and G.B. Gray, *The Book of Job* (I), 300.

The combination of an unusually placed preposition (עַלִּי) in the MT and a plural ending in 11Q10 (בַּתְּרַעִי)²¹⁶ has led Zuckerman to suggest that the translator of 11Q10 may have possessed a corrupt or defective *Vorlage* (שַׁעַר <עַלִּי>).²¹⁷ However, modern English translations apparently based on the difficult MT see fit to omit the preposition in exactly the same manner as appears to be the case in the Qumran translation (e.g. NIV, RSV, NRSV ‘the gate of the city’).²¹⁸ The Peshitta of Job also reacts to the incongruous preposition but provides a *waw* conjunction in order to co-ordinate the two nouns instead of rendering as a genitive.²¹⁹ In the above case, we see that while the Qumran and Syriac translations react differently to the difficulties of the Hebrew (as one would expect of two independent idiomatic translations) they appear to be responding to the same stimulus in the source text. RtgJob, either unaware or unconcerned with the difficulties perceived by the other two versions, preserves a proximate rendering of the Hebrew text. The English translation of the MT solves the perceived ‘problem’ here by simply transposing the preposition to an earlier position in the clause and rendering the latter two nouns (‘gate of the city’) in the construct as is the case in 11Q10.

Another case of this same preposition creating apparent difficulties appears at 34:13:

²¹⁶ Like many English translators of this verse (e.g. AV, ASV, NIV, RSV, NRSV i.e., when I went *to* the gate), the translators of 11Q10 and P-Job provide alternate target language prepositions (ܐܠܝܐ and ܐܠܝܐ respectively) before their renderings of ‘gate’. (H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 145) This is an example of both Aramaic translations explicitly providing a preposition which seems to be implied by the Hebrew.

²¹⁷ B.E. Zuckerman, *The Process of Translation*, 475.

²¹⁸ R. Gordis, *The Book of Job*, 319 argues that the unusual syntax of 29:7a reflects an ‘idiomatic’ mode of saying ‘when I went out to the gate at the city’, i.e., city-gate. He does not however provide other examples of such ‘idiomatic’ usage. S.R. Driver and G.B. Gray, *The Book of Job* (I), 247 on the contrary understand the reference to ‘gate’ to be that of Job’s own house/estate (i.e., ‘when I went out of my gate...’).

²¹⁹ A. Mandl, *Die Peschitta zum Hiob*, 26 notes only that the preposition has been omitted while E. Baumann, ‘Verwendbarkeit der Peshita’, (1900) 189 suggests the possibility that P-Job’s *Vorlage* possessed the conjunction in place of the Hebrew preposition.

מִי־פָקֵד עָלָיו אֶרְצָה וּמִי שָׁם תִּבְלַ כְּלָהּ: 34:13

[...ה] וְאֵא אֶרְעָא (____) עֲבַד xxiv, 8 וּקְשַׁט תְּבִלָּהּ [...]

מִן פִּקִּיד עֲלוּהִי לְמַעְבַּד אֶרְעָא וּמִן שׁוּי תְּבִלָּהּ כּוֹלָהּ: RtgJob

מַחַם פַּחַד לְאִזְכָּר. מַחַם חַבֵּד לְחַלֵּשׁ וְאִכְלָה. P-Job

Who gave him charge over the earth and who laid on him the whole world? NRSV

As was noted by the editors of the *DJD* volume, 11Q10's rendering of MT פָּקֵד עָלָיו אֶרְצָה 'He made the earth...' is paralleled both by LXX (ὅς ἐποίησεν τὴν γῆν) and by the second rendering of RtgJob (לְמַעְבַּד אֶרְעָא).²²⁰ In light of the parallel modifications in these versions, it seems unnecessary to suggest that the Qumran translator here is laying particular or unique emphasis on the concept of God as creator.²²¹ Rather, it would seem to reflect a common degree of uncertainty about the meaning of עַל in the present context. When used with פָּקֵד this preposition sometimes introduces the person or thing over which a subject has been 'appointed' (hence, 'who gave *him* charge over the earth?') whereas the one who has been appointed is normally marked as the direct object.²²² However, the use of עַל with פָּקֵד is rather ambiguous and such an ambiguity may have caused problems for the translator at this juncture.²²³ Further support for the suggestion that the presence of this preposition has been perceived as problematic in the present context is provided by the fact that where a similar construction appears in the Hebrew of Job 36:23, the Greek and Syriac translators treat it as they have done here (through omission and substitution [Δ] respectively). That the translator of 11Q10 does not ap-

²²⁰ F. Martinez *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 11*, 134.

²²¹ Such is suggested by E.W. Tuinstra, *Hermeneutische Aspecten*, 23 'Dit zou aansluiten bij de belangrijke plaats die het thema van de schepping in onze targum inneemt.'

²²² See for example, Jer. 15:3 and Nu. 27:16.

²²³ In Jeremiah 51:27 עַל in conjunction with this verb must mean 'prescribe against'. See Koehler-Baumgartner [Engl. Ed.] (hereafter KB³) 955ff for further examples of this flexibility.

pear to represent this preposition in his translation would tend to corroborate the above suggestion. Again as above, RtgJob preserves a rendering of the preposition *in situ*.

41:12 מִנְחִירָיו יֵצֵא עָשָׁן כְּדוֹד נְפוּחַ וְאֶגְמֹן:

11Q10 מִן נְחִירוֹהַ יִפֹּק תָּנָן () xxxvi, 6 לְכוֹשׁ יִקְדּוּ וּמִגְמֹר

RtgJob מִנְחִירוֹהַ יִפֹּק קוֹטְרָא הֵיךְ דּוּדָא נְפִיחַ דְּעִבִּיד כִּיפָא:

P-Job מִן נְחִירוֹהַ, נֶפֶס וְלֹא אֵיךְ דְּחִיזָא דְּמִשְׁכָּא דְּחִיזָא.

Out of its nostrils comes smoke, as from a boiling pot and burning rushes. NRSV (41:20)

The above example from 41:12 again illustrates the perceived difficulty of the text and a resulting omission in the translation of 11Q10. It appears that the Hebrew form כְּדוֹד is to be understood as comparative particle + noun ‘like a pot’ and both P-Job and RtgJob have clearly understood the Hebrew as intending a simile.²²⁴ It is possible that 11Q10 לְכוֹשׁ is in fact a rendering of Heb. דוֹד ‘pot’.²²⁵ But the apparent lack of a comparative particle²²⁶ (and resulting elimination of the simile) lends credence to the suggestion that the translator has not recognised this form but has been influenced by his understanding of the Heb *hapax* בִּידוּדִי ‘sparks’ in the preceding verse and translated כְּדוֹד here in light of this with לְכוֹשׁ which Sokoloff suggests should be translated as ‘torch’.²²⁷ P-Job’s rendering דְּחִיזָא (meaning uncertain) seems a reasonably certain in-

²²⁴ S.R. Driver and G.B. Gray, *The Book of Job* (II), 340; E. Dhorme, *A Commentary on the Book of Job*.

²²⁵ Both F. Martinez *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 11*, 166. and *ATQ*, 71 favour this reading on the basis that Sperber’s edition of TgZech 12:8 provides לְכוֹשׁ as a rendering of כִּיור.

²²⁶ Alternatively *Editio princeps*, 83 and *ATQ*, 70 suggest that the *lamedh* has the force of the comparative. This seems unlikely in light of the provision of Aramaic כ as an equivalent כ on more than a dozen occasions (See M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 211).

²²⁷ M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 165 notes that לְכוֹשָׁה (SA) translates לַחַט (ST Gen. 3:24) and a denominative SA verbal form translates the corresponding Heb. verb (ST Dt 32:22). M. Pope, *Job*, 343 (evidently under the influence of 11Q10’s rendering) assumes that the connection drawn by the Aramaic translator between the two forms (v.11 בִּידוּדִי v.12 כְּדוֹד) reflects the correct understanding of the MT.

his part apparently fails to include an equivalent for this preposition in his Aramaic translation.²³¹ Thus we see that while in both cases, the translators have adapted the Hebrew in order to produce an acceptable Aramaic translation, the manner in which they have done so differs markedly. The translator of RtgJob supplements the text in order to preserve the irregular element, while in 11Q10 the perceived irregularity leads to its own omission.

One final example, drawn from 38:24 again shows an obvious minus documented by a *vacat* in the MS.

38:24 אִי-נָה הַדֶּרֶךְ יִתְּלַק אֹר יִפֹּז קָדִים עַל-אֶרֶץ:
 11Q10 היכא יפק *vacat* ותשוב קדמוהי על ארעא
 RtgJob הידין אורחא מתקבל נהורא יבדר רוח קדומא על ארעא:
 P-Job אה באגא אהזא מחפץ נחמזא. חנפא זמא בל אגא.

Which is the way to the place where the wind is measured out, and the east wind sent out over the earth? BBE

By what way is the light parted, Or the east wind scattered upon the earth? ASV

Most commentators have found the conjunction of אֹר ‘light’ in the first stich and קָדִים ‘east wind’ in the second, to be an incongruous one and have suggested various approaches to righting the situation.²³² 11Q10’s rendering of verse 24a יפק היכא ‘how does it go forth?’ seems to be a generalised, contextual rendering of the MT ...אִי-נָה הַדֶּרֶךְ יִתְּלַק. ‘In which path is (the light) dispersed...’ which suggests that the translator may have understood Hebrew דרך ‘way’ in the sense of ‘manner’ (i.e., in what

preposition under the influence of the same preposition at the beginning of the verse.

²³¹ M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 168 suggests that the form did not appear in the translator’s *Vorlage* in the first place. While this is of course theoretically possible, the assemblage of evidence seems to suggest rather the influence of the translator’s Aramaic idiom.

²³² S.R. Driver and G.B. Gray, *The Book of Job* (II), 304 canvass previous commentaries and supply a number of different suggestions: רוח ‘wind’ אד ‘mist’ כפר ‘hoar-frost’ (after Gk πάγην) קטר ‘steam’. They opt for the first of these, while M. Pope, *Job*, 297 prefers אד.

manner) rather than in the sense of ‘road or path’.²³³ But, as the editors note, there is a quite obvious *vacat* following פֶּקֶד where in the source text one finds the subject of the verb (אֲרָא).²³⁴ Although it is difficult to be certain about the cause of the *vacat*, the fact that the subject of the MT is now no longer represented explicitly in the Aramaic translation seems likely therefore to be related to its incongruity in the present context. As there is no sign of erasure,²³⁵ it may well be that the translator of the Qumran text simply omitted the unexpected word, thereby removing the perceived incongruity. Alternatively, as was suggested with a previous *vacat*, it may be that the translator had planned to return to the text.²³⁶ In light of the above suggestions, however, it does appear to be clear that it is not so much a difficulty with the element itself אֲרָא ‘light’ which has led to its omission but rather its relation (or perceived lack of relation) to its immediate context (v.24bff).

The above examples have illustrated that some textual minuses in the Qumran translation seem to be related to the fact that the translator has struggled to understand the text. Whether the translator’s struggles are due to the inadequacies of the text as opposed to a lack of Hebrew proficiency is of course a very difficult question to answer satisfactorily. However, the enduring challenges offered by the Hebrew text of Job caution us against drawing the conclusion that the Qumran translator’s understanding of Hebrew was radically deficient. Furthermore, unlike some of the minuses whose causes are less clear, instances of omission related to textual difficulty seem to find some correspondence in P-Job (29:7; 34:13)—not in terms of the mode of representation (P-Job in these cases prefers substitution to omission)—but in terms of their common awareness

²³³ So M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 89; F. Martinez et al., *Qumran Cave 11*, 153. Alternatively, ‘(from) where?’ is preferred by E.W. Tuinstra, *Hermeneutische Aspecten*, 30. *Editio princeps*, 73; *ATQ*, 59.

²³⁴ *Editio princeps*, 72 suggests that the targumist may have read (or understood) רִיחַ ‘wind’. So also E.W. Tuinstra, *Hermeneutische Aspecten*, 30; M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 89.

²³⁵ F. Martinez et al., *Qumran Cave 11*, 152.

²³⁶ If it is assumed that 11Q10 is not the autograph but simply a later copy of the Aramaic translation of Job, the question then becomes: did the copyist simply find a *vacat* in his Aramaic *Vorlage* and transmit it or was a form provided in the Aramaic text he was copying but failed to receive representation in the ex-

of, and response to unusual or irregular textual phenomena. The translator of RtgJob on the other hand, whether more able to cope with Hebrew textual problems, or satisfied to pass over them, appears to follow the Hebrew text more closely.

Although the last example (38:24) is related to the issue of coping with a difficult text, it also highlights the role that surrounding context can play in leading to textual minuses. This leads us to consider related cases where the translator's omissions seem not to be related to the textual unit omitted *per se*, but rather to a 'preceding' modification in the linguistic context (or co-text²³⁷) in which the minus is to be found.

34:13 מִי־פָקֵד עָלָיו אֶרְצָה וּמִי שָׁם תִּבְלָה כְּלָהּ:

11Q10 [...] וְאֵל אֶרְעָא עֲבַד xxiv, 8 וְ () קִשְׁט תְּבִלָּה ...]

RtgJob מִן פִּקִּיד עֲלוּהִי לְמַעַבְד אֶרְעָא וּמִן שׁוּי תְּבִלָּה כּוֹלָהּ:

P-Job מִנֵּה פִקִּיד עָלָיו אֶרְצָה וּמִי שָׁם תִּבְלָה כְּלָהּ:

Who gave him charge over the earth and (who) laid on him the whole world? RSV

The Qumran translation's rendering of 34:12 has, like the Greek translation, transformed the negative assertion of the MT into a rhetorical question through the substitution of interrogative *heh* for Hebrew לֹא. (MT: אֵי־אֱמָנוֹם אֵל לֹא־יִרְשָׁע; 11Q10: הֲכֵעַן צִדָּא אֱלֹהָא יִשְׁקֵר).²³⁸ Here in verse 13, however, where a question is indicated in the Hebrew text through the use of interrogative pronouns (מִי), the translator of 11Q10 supplies וְאֵל[...] thereby eliminating the question from the verse. It is not clear whether the translator was uncomfortable with the Hebrew text's rhetorical invitation to challenge divine creative power or whether the introduction of an interrogative into the preceding verse rendered a second successive interrogative stylistically inappro-

tant copy which we now possess?

²³⁷ A. Samely, *The Interpretation of Speech*, 4 introduces into targumic discussion, the discourse analyst's convention of referring to the immediate linguistic (as opposed to non-linguistic) environment in which a given text is to be found as 'co-text'.

²³⁸ E.W. Tuinstra, *Hermeneutische Aspecten*, 23.

priate in the eyes of the translator here in verse 13. What is fairly obvious is that, after having supplied ܣܢ[ܐ...] in the first half of the verse as a substitute for ܐܢܐ, the translator of 11Q10 does not feel it necessary to provide an equivalent for the second occurrence of the interrogative pronoun at the beginning of 13b. Initially, it seems possible that the omission of the pronoun here is more likely to be related to the perceived redundancy of this second ܐܢܐ than to the translator's logically prior transformation of the Hebrew question into the Aramaic statement. On examination of the translator's treatment of other similarly structured verses, we see that it is the prior transformation which has led to this omission. For instance, in 38:5 where the MT also begins each half of the verse with ܐܢܐ, the Qumran translator provides ܐܢܐ, the expected Aramaic equivalent, in both locations and equivalents are also apparently provided for both occurrences of this pronoun in 38:29.²³⁹ This evidence suggests that had he followed the MT in rendering the interrogatives, the translator of 11Q10 would have provided equivalents for both occurrences of ܐܢܐ. With the restructuring of the sentence, the translator clearly no longer felt the need to provide an equivalent for every element of the Hebrew text and translated accordingly. It is quite clear that here, as in the previous case, the textual minus arises under the influence of a prior translation decision. The omission of the element would then seem to follow as a result of the translator's attempt to provide an idiomatic expression in light of his previous adjustment of the source text.

Modification of the co-text again appears to be the main cause for omission of an element in the 11Q10's Aramaic translation of 40:12,

²³⁹ The second ܐܢܐ is only partially preserved due to increasing fragmentation toward the end of the line.

40:12 רְאֵה כָּל-גָּאֹה הַכְּנִיעֵהוּ וְהִדְדֵּךְ רְשָׁעִים תַּחְתָּם:

11Q10 ו() כל xxxiv, 8 רִמָּת רוח תתבר () והטפי רשעין תחון תיהון

RtgJob חמי כל גיותניא ותברניה ודעדק חייביא באתריהון:

P-Job מִאֲדָמָה לַתְּלָא בְּהַחֲלָמָה.

Look on every one that is proud, and bring him low; and tread down the wicked where they stand. (RSV)

In place of the imperative (+ 3rd masc. sg. suffix) of the MT הַכְּנִיעֵהוּ 'and bring him low' 11Q10 supplies either a 3rd fem. or perhaps, conceivably, a 2nd masc. sg. imperfect form: תתבר ('you will break' or '(it) will be broken').²⁴⁰ Whatever the form, it is clear that the 3rd masc. sg. objective suffix present in the Hebrew and represented in the translations of the RSV and RtgJob is not accounted for in 11Q10. As Sokoloff's summary of 11Q10's morphological characteristics shows that the translator is often quite willing to include suffixes with verbal forms in his translation, the motivation for the omission of this suffix must therefore be sought elsewhere.²⁴¹ In this case, it appears to be found in the co-text and the translator's adjustment of it for the main clue to the mystery of the missing suffix seems to be provided by the omission of רְאֵה at the beginning of 11Q10's translation of this verse. To understand this minus, it is in turn important to note that the end of verse 11 and the beginning of verse 12 here bear a striking similarity. Both 11b and 12a begin with רְאֵה כָּל-גָּאֹה and in both cases the following verbs (הַשְׁפִּילָהוּ, and הַכְּנִיעֵהוּ respectively) refer to 'bringing low' or humbling of the proud. The fact that P-Job lacks v.12a suggests the possibility that it was the similarity

²⁴⁰ This form may be read as a 3rd fem. sg. Ithpe. (F. Martinez *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 11*, 162) or a 2nd masc. sg. Pe. (*Editio princeps*, 79; J. Fitzmyer, and D.J. Harrington, (eds.) *A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts*, 43; *ATQ*, 67.) While the latter may be preferable due to the imperative mood of the grammatical context, this would require the ellision of a medial ת: ת(ת)תבר. The fact that a similar modification of mood takes place in RtgJob at 38:3 and 40:7 is hardly surprising as the imperfect may be used with imperative force in Targumic Aramaic.

²⁴¹ M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 174.

of the two texts which has led to this omission, whether because of textual error (homoiarchon) or the perception that the second occurrence of these words in such close proximity was superfluous and unnecessary.²⁴² As was noted first by Tuinstra, 11Q10 and LXX do not follow the Peshitta in omitting the entire clause in their translations but do lack an equivalent of *וְרָאָה*.²⁴³ It seems quite likely that the underlying motivation behind such an adjustment is that the Qumran translator saw the repetition of the identical verb here in verse 12a as redundant.²⁴⁴ To return then to the case of the lost suffix, it seems that the omission of the suffix in 11Q10's translation is related to this restructuring of the syntax of v.12a (the main verb of v.12a in the Qumran translation is now *תִּתְּבַר*) and the collapse of the two verbal clauses in Hebrew into a single clause in 11Q10's translation. In this new Aramaic translation ('and all haughtiness of spirit will be broken') there is no longer a need for the 3 masc. sg. pronominal suffix which is required in the Hebrew and preserved in RtgJob's translation.²⁴⁵ Again, it is the translator's prior modification of the co-text which seems to have led to the omission of a given element in his rendering of the Hebrew.

In 11Q10's translation of Job 21:6, it is not a suffix but a noun which is omitted,

²⁴² The former is suggested by E. Baumann, 'Verwendbarkeit der Peshita', (1899) 46 and H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 166 while the latter is the view adopted by G. Rignell, *The Peshitta to the Book of Job*, 340.

²⁴³ E.W. Tuinstra, *Hermeneutische Aspecten*, 36.

²⁴⁴ Thus to speak as M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 159 does, of 'combining' the two occurrences in verses 11 and 12 is slightly misleading. F. Martinez *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 11*, 162 consider 11Q10's provision of the *waw* conjunction here as a substitution for *וְרָאָה*, but in the light of the translator's well documented tendency to add conjunctions to the beginning of the verses in his translation (see Part Three), it is also possible to see this modification as comprising the addition and omission of separate elements rather than signifying a substitution.

²⁴⁵ The contrast between 11Q10 and RtgJob is also seen in their renderings of Hebrew *גָּאָה*. The Qumran translation renders this term here in v.12a with the synonymous Aramaic expression *רִמַּת רוּחַ* 'haughtiness of spirit'—an alternative rendering to the translation provided by the translator in the previous verse (*גָּאָה*). 11Q10's treatment contrasts strikingly with that of RtgJob where the translator has provided virtually the same equivalent in both cases (albeit pl. vs. sg). Whereas consistency of rendering is a top priority for the translator of RtgJob, the translator of 11Q10 places a higher premium on variety of expression.

curing again as a result of the translator's modification of the Hebrew co-text as it is rendered into Aramaic.

While 11Q10 shows two minuses vis-à-vis the Hebrew text of 37:18, it is the lack of the second preposition (ל) which is of interest here.

37:18 תִּרְקִיעַ עָמֹד לְשִׁחָקִים חֲזָקִים כְּרָאִי מוֹצֵק:
 11Q10 [...]נפח (____) (____) ערפלא xxix, 9 [...]ה עקה
 RtgJob תרקע עמיה לשחקי תקיפין וחזותהון היך
 אספלידא/איספקלירא סביבא/סנינא:
 P-Job חזותהון עמיה לְשִׁחָקִים חֲזָקִים כְּרָאִי מוֹצֵק.

Can you, like him, spread out the skies, hard as a molten mirror? NRSV

The omission of an equivalent for *lamedh* in 11Q10 seems to be related to 11Q10's attempt to make sense of the rare Hebrew verb תִּרְקִיעַ.²⁵⁰ Only here at Job 37:18 does this root appear in the Hiphil²⁵¹ and whether it went unrecognised by the translator of 11Q10 or yielded a substitution for some other reason now no longer obvious, the Qumran text diverges in its rendering by providing נפח 'to blow, inflate'. Both P-Job and RtgJob follow the MT in their own renderings by providing cognate Aramaic verbs and both too supply equivalents for the Hebrew *lamedh*. It seems reasonable to suggest that the Qumran translation lacks the *lamedh* before ערפלא because according to the sensitivities of the translator, the new Aramaic verb which has been introduced into the translation (נפח) does not idiomatically require (or allow?) the inclusion of ל before the noun. Here again, we seem to encounter a case where an element in the Hebrew fails to find representation in the Aramaic of 11Q10 because of a modification to the co-text.

²⁵⁰ For a discussion of the omission/transposition of an equivalent of עָמֹד see chapter 6 (37:18).

²⁵¹ S.R. Driver and G.B. Gray, *The Book of Job* (II), 294.

The last few examples have illustrated the way in which even elements which are not on their own problematic in any obvious way to the Qumran translator are nevertheless omitted due to modifications in the immediate co-text. The use of words like 'preceding' and 'logically prior' is not meant to suggest that we are able to reconstruct the translation process in any kind of exhaustive or mechanistic way but merely to indicate that the lack of certain elements in the translated text seem to be best explained by the translator's decision regarding the rendering of text in the vicinity. The general impression suggested by these examples is that in 11Q10, 'minor' grammatical elements may be sacrificed in the translation process for the sake of idiomatic fluency.

The topic of idiomatic fluency leads directly to a final, large category of minuses detected in 11Q10. In the following set of examples, it is again the concern for an acceptable and intelligible Aramaic target text which seems to lie behind the omission of certain elements present in the Hebrew source text and preserved to various degrees in other translations. In the previous examples an element seemed to have been excluded because it did not 'fit' within the immediate Aramaic co-text as reconstituted by the translator. In the instances below on the other hand, it seems to be the linguistic reconstitution of the Hebrew text into Aramaic which has led to the textual minus, rather than discernible local or immediate textual concerns. In other words, these elements are apparently omitted because they are perceived by the translator as either not required (i.e. a stylistic-poetic constraint) or not permitted (i.e. a properly linguistic constraint) by the form of Aramaic into which the translation is being made. In the context of original composition in a given linguistic idiom, the drawing of a line between linguistic and stylistic constraints is, in theory at least, possible. Several considerations in the present context, however, mean that any such line which may be drawn here must not be considered in any way absolute. First the lack of a clear provenance of 11Q10 prior to its entombment in the Qumran escarpment prevents us from pinpointing texts which might provide comparable samples of non-translation Aramaic.²⁵² Second, it must be admitted

²⁵² As was discussed in the introduction, linguistic dating relies on precisely this 'dialect' difference (between 1QGap, 11Q10 and the biblical Aramaic texts) as a means of determining the relative dates of the

33:28, 34:30) the Syriac utilised by the translator of P-Job does not tolerate the Hebrew construction מן + infinitive construct. Here, as at 34:30, the Syriac translator has chosen to replace this particular Hebrew construction with ܐܕ. Although the translator of the Qumran text appears to tolerate the מן + infinitive construct construction at 32:1 where he reproduces the Hebrew syntax, here the source text has prompted a modification from the Qumran translator. Although 11Q10's fragmentary rendering of 33:28 lacks the relevant material, P-Job's translation of v.28a פָּדָה נַפְשִׁי מֵעֶבֶר בְּשַׁחַת with

ܐܕܐܢܐ ܢܦܨܐܝܐ ܡܢ ܥܒܪܐ (____) ܡܢ ܫܚܐܐ shows that the Syriac translator has chosen to exclude an equivalent for the Hebrew infinitive while retaining the preposition (ܡܢ) in his translation. Here in the Qumran rendering of 33:24 we see that the translator has, like P-Job in 33:28, opted to omit a rendering of the infinitive while at the same time preserving an equivalent of the preposition (ܡܢ) vs. MT (ܡܪܕܬ ܫַׁחַת).²⁵⁵ In light of the above discussion and the lack of other plausible reasons for this form's omission by the Qumran translator, it seems most likely that linguistic-stylistic constraints have impinged upon the rendering in 11Q10 and that the omission of this verbal element from the Aramaic has been the result.

In the following example drawn from Job 34:30, the presence and function of the Hebrew preposition מן again provokes a variety of responses from the respective Aramaic translators.

²⁵⁵ Although it is not preserved in 11Q10's translation at 33:30, P-Job translates MT שַׁחַת 'pit' with ܐܕܐܢܐ. 'ruin/destruction'. Here in 33:24, both 11Q10 and P-Job provide this same lexeme as an equivalent for the Hebrew. While F. Martinez *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 11*, 132 note that this more abstract rendering (ܐܕܐܢܐ) is also found in the rabbinic *targumim*, the targumic translator of Job consistently provides the Aramaic cognate שׁוּחַחַת thereby maintaining the poetic use of 'Pit' as an equivalent of destruction. (9:31, 17:14, 33:18, 22, 24, 28, 30).

מִמֶּלֶךְ אָדָם חֲנֹף מִמִּקְשֵׁי עָם: 34:30

[....] לִךְ אִנֵּשׁ רִשְׁעִיָּא () הַתְקִלּוּ [...] 11Q10

מִמְנֵי מַלְכָּא בִרְנֵשׁ דִּילְטוֹר מִטּוֹל תּוֹקְלִיא דְּבַעֲמָא: RtgJob

דִּלָּא אֲחֻלָּי אִנֵּשׁ מִלָּא מִטּוֹל לִבָּא. P-Job

to keep a godless man from ruling, from laying snares for the people. NIV

that a godless man should not reign, that he should not ensnare the people. RSV

Here in verse 30b, all three Aramaic translators have reacted to the fact that the Hebrew preposition מִן appears in a causal infinitive clause.²⁵⁶ Each translator differs in their precise approach to rendering this construction into an Aramaic form which will be acceptable to their respective readerships. RtgJob specifies the meaning of the preposition through the provision of a more specific Aramaic preposition מִטּוֹל. The translator of P-Job has, alternatively, substituted a *waw* conjunction in place of the preposition as part of his extensive re-writing of the verse.²⁵⁷ The Qumran translator's response to this Hebrew construction is simply to omit it altogether and render מִמִּקְשֵׁי with a verbal form of the correct root הַתְקִלּוּ 'they were ensnared/trapped'.²⁵⁸ While all three Aramaic versions have apparently felt the need to adapt their texts in translation, 11Q10 prefers to exclude the alien construction from its Aramaic rendering through omission.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁶ See B. Waltke and M. O'Connor, *Hebrew Syntax*, § 36.2.2b.

²⁵⁷ P-Job renders מִמִּקְשֵׁי with מִלָּא 'sins' providing a contextually appropriate translation which fits with its re-writing of the verse. This may in fact be the implied meaning of the Hebrew in any case (R. Gordis, *The Book of Job*, 393 refers to the use here of the subjective genitive: 'because of the snares set by the people' [i.e. because of the sins committed by the people]) See G. Rignell, *The Peshitta to the Book of Job*, 287 for further discussion and a translation of P-Job's rendering of this verse.

²⁵⁸ While M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 135 favours reading this as a hithpe'el, F. Martinez *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 11*, 137 note that the other possible reading (as haphel) would correspond more closely to the Hebrew.

²⁵⁹ In 33:10, a preposition present in the Hebrew is again omitted by the Qumran translation. In this case however it is not מִן, but a suffixed form of עַל which has been left out of the Aramaic rendering. Other modifications are present in this verse, but it is unclear why this element has not been included.

35:11 מִלְּפָנָיו מִבְּהֶמָּוֹת אֶרֶץ וּמֵעוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם יִחְכְּמוּנוּ:

11Q10 די פרשנא מן בע'ירי ... ומן] צפריא (____) xxvi, 7 חכמנה

RtgJob דמאליף יתנא מן בעירי ארע ומן עופא דשמיא יחכמננא:

P-Job מִן מִדָּם נִשְׁמַלָּא דְאִתְּכָא. הִמָּךְ פִּישְׁמָלָא דְצִיבְרָא עֲבָדָךְ.

...who teaches us more than the animals of the earth, and makes us wiser than the birds of the air?' NRSV

Although this line of 11Q10 is not preserved in its entirety, it seems clear that the translator has omitted הַשָּׁמַיִם 'the heavens' in his rendering of Job 35:11 [ומן] ... צפריא חכמנה '(and more than)...the birds he has made us wise'. Interestingly, where this construct phrase appears in 28:21, both elements are rendered by the Qumran translator (צפרי שמיא). While there is no obvious motivation for the omission of a rendering of הַשָּׁמַיִם here, it is equally true that its loss in translation has little effect on the basic meaning of the verse. Assuming that הַשָּׁמַיִם was present in the Hebrew text which lay before the translator, it is perhaps this very superfluity which has led to its omission. Because the communicative aim of the Hebrew verse is to point out the superiority of God's tutelage of humanity as opposed to non-human creatures, the distinction between 'birds of the air' and 'animals of the field' functions primarily as a poetic device. In light of this, it seems most likely that הַשָּׁמַיִם was omitted in translation because the translator felt that its inclusion added little to the overall meaning of the verse. In the preceding two examples, the evidence suggests that linguistic differences between Hebrew and Aramaic led to adjustments in translation. In this case, however, the fact that the translator chose to include הַשָּׁמַיִם in his translation of 28:21, but not here in 35:11 shows that this omission should be understood as resulting more from stylistic preference than linguistic necessity.

35:14 אַךְ כִּי־תֹאמַר לֹא תִשׁוּרְנוּ דַּיִן לְפָנָיו וְתִתְּוֹלֵל לִי:

11Q10 () הֵן תֹּאמַר [...] לֵה [...] xxvi, 10 [... ...]

RtgJob בָּרַם אַרוֹם תִּימַר לֹא יִסְכְּנִיה אִין־דִּיין/אִי־דִיין
קִדְמוּהִי וְתוֹרִיךְ לִיה: {לֹא} וְתַצְלִי לוֹתִיה:

P-Job מֵאַף אֲמַדֵּם לֹא אֶעֱבַדְתִּי. דִּם מִנְחָמָה, מֵאַחַדְצָא לֹא.

How much less when you say that you do not see him, that the case is before him, and you are waiting for him! RSV

The Hebrew compound conjunction and following verb form (אֲךְ כִּי־תֹאמַר) may mean either ‘how much less (is it the case), when you say...’ or alternatively ‘Even if (i.e. although) you say...’.²⁶⁰ It seems that all three Aramaic versions have taken the text as meaning the latter although their representations of the Hebrew differ. We see that while P-Job (כֵּן being a contraction of כֵּן אֲךְ) and RtgJob (בָּרַם אַרוֹם) retain equivalents for both emphatic (אֲךְ) and conditional/temporal components (כִּי) of the Hebrew expression, 11Q10 appears to omit an equivalent to אֲךְ, despite rendering כִּי with הֵן ‘if’. Although the Syriac translator here provides an equivalent for this particle, Szpek notes that P-Job sometimes fails to render it at the beginning of a verse due to the translator’s perception of it as redundant.²⁶¹ Such seems to be the case here in 11Q10, but it is equally important to note that the Qumran translator can and does also provide Aramaic כֵּן as an equivalent for its Hebrew cognate at both 37:11 and 40:8. While the occasional omission of the Hebrew particle אֲךְ by the Syriac and Qumran versions of Job seems to reflect a stylistic flexibility in their approach to rendering the text into Aramaic, RtgJob both here and in the other instances discussed above consistently provides the Aramaic equivalent בָּרַם. Again the analysis seems to suggest that the translator of

²⁶⁰ See R. Gordis, *The Book of Job*, 402 who favours the latter interpretation.

²⁶¹ H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 228. See for instance 19:4 and 34:12 (where 11Q10 provides a substitution).

11Q10 has failed to provide a precise formal equivalent of an element in the Hebrew text because it was not deemed to be stylistically important in his Aramaic translation.

As we have already seen (40:12 above), the translator of 11Q10 is willing to omit bound morphemes (suffixes) when they follow verbs. In the following examples, we see that the Qumran translation may also lack pronominal suffixes which appear following nouns in the Hebrew text.

36:29 אֵף אִם־יָבִין מִפְּרִשֵׁי־עַבְרָא תִּשְׁאֹת סִכְתּוֹ:

11Q10 () הֵן vacat מִן פֶּרֶס^o xxviii, 7 [.....] תִּה מִן טִלֵּל ()

RtgJob לַחֲדָד אֵין אַתְבִּיין פִּרִּישְׁתָּא דַּעִיבָא רִיכְפַת עֲנִיָּה טִלְיָה:

P-Job מַחֲנֵה נֹכַח. מִפְּרִשֵׁי חֲנִיָּה מִן סִכְתּוֹ דַּחֲנִיָּה.

Can any one understand the spreading of the clouds, the thunderings of his pavilion? RSV

At the beginning of 36:29 we encounter an omission which has already been described above. While it is unclear if the Syriac translator has made some attempt to represent the Hebrew particle אֵף in the favoured rendering, מַחֲנֵה, it is evident that the Qumran translator has again passed by this particle in his Aramaic translation (see immediately preceding discussion) on account of its perceived superfluity. The poor preservation of the beginning of line 7 unfortunately prevents us from seeing how the entire verse was understood by the translator of 11Q10. What is clear, however, is that the final 3 masc. sg. suffix has been omitted from the Qumran translation's equivalent for סִכְתּוֹ 'his hut/pavilion'. Although we lack the translator's rendering of עַבְרָא, this unfixed form, occurring as it does in a parallel position earlier in the verse, may have exerted some influence on the omission of the suffix on טִלֵּל. Whether specifically related to the influence of the parallel form or not, it would seem that the translator has not seen the retention of the suffix as necessary in his rendering of the Hebrew. If this were the only instance of the Qumran text lacking a suffix in comparison with the MT, we might be willing to attribute its absence here to an error. However, other cases do present

themselves.²⁶² The repetitive nature of this modification when combined with a pronounced tendency to *add* suffixes as the context demands, suggests that the Qumran translator is open to omitting a suffix in translation in a given context when it seems stylistically appropriate.²⁶³

While suffixes may be omitted, larger elements in the Hebrew text of Job may also be lacking in the Qumran translation as we see from this rendering of Job 41:9,

41:9 אִישׁ-בְּאַחֲיוֹ יִדְבֹקוּ יִתְלַכְדוּ וְלֹא יִתְפָּרְדּוּ:
 11Q10 אנתה xxxvi, 3 לחברתה חענן ולא יתפ[ר]שן
 RtgJob חד עם חבריה מדבקין מתאחדין ולא מתפרשין/מיתפרדין:
 P-Job מן לחד נמכפ. האסדג. חלא מלפזמ.

They are joined one to another; they clasp each other and cannot be separated. RSV (41:17)

While the other Aramaic versions follow the Hebrew text in providing two verbal forms in succession in the middle of verse 9, 11Q10 provides only one verb, חענן 'they embrace' as opposed to the parallel verbal forms in יִדְבֹקוּ יִתְלַכְדוּ 'they cleave; they seize each other'.²⁶⁴ Because the semantic fields of the two verbs largely overlap it is impractical and basically irrelevant to consider which of the two verbs has been rendered by the single Aramaic equivalent חענן. This virtual synonymy of the two verbs is of course the most reasonable explanation of the 'telescoping' of the two verbs into a single equivalent;²⁶⁵ the two have become one because to render both was seemingly perceived as unnecessary by the translator. But if parallelism, whatever its precise characteristics, is a common enough feature in the Hebrew poetry of Job, what then has led the translator

²⁶² See, for instance 11Q10's lack of suffixes on its translations of Hebrew מְשַׁפֵּט (40:8) רִוְחִי (19:17) and חֲכָם (29:10).

²⁶³ For the addition of suffixes in 11Q10, see 'Translator's Intervention' (Conclusion) below.

²⁶⁴ *Editio princeps*, 82.

²⁶⁵ M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 164 refers to this as a 'telescoping' of the translation.

to omit a parallel element in this particular verse? Several factors may have played a part in this case. The similarity of structure and content in the preceding verse 8: 'One is so near to another that no air can come between them.' (אֶתֶּר בְּאַתֶּר יִגָּשׁוּ וְרוּחַ לֹא-יָבֹא בֵּינֵיהֶם;) may have played a part in influencing the omission of the verb form in v. 9. Verse 8 possesses a general antithetical structure (a, not b). As translated in 11Q10, verse 9 also has this same structure (a, not b) despite the fact that the Hebrew of verse 9 should properly be understood as a,a', not b. The fact that in verse 9 (as in verse 8) the primary verb of 'a' (יִדְבָּקוּ) comes at the end of the clause and is directly apposed—rather than conjoined with *waw*—to the second verb (יִתְלַכְדוּ) has undoubtedly contributed to the translator's stylistic decision to provide only one equivalent.²⁶⁶

Verse 26 of chapter 38 also provides a clear example of the Qumran translation's disruption and collapsing of the parallel structure of the Hebrew verse.

38:26 לְהַמְטִיר עַל-אַרְצָא לֹא-אִישׁ מְדַבֵּר לֹא-אָדָם בֶּן־

11Q10 להנחתה על ארע () מדבר די-לא אנש בה xxxi,4

RtgJob לאחתא מטרא עלוי ארעא דלית בה גבר מדבר דלא בר-נש ביה

P-Job לחסמא מלואא בל אדבר ולא אנש. הכחזא דלאס חנא

to bring rain on a land where no man is, on the desert in which there is no man; RSV

to bring rain on a land where no one lives, on the desert, which is empty of human life, NRSV

Several commentators have noted that 11Q10 does not preserve an equivalent for MT לֹא-אִישׁ in its translation of the verse, apparently placing ארע and מדבר in construct.²⁶⁷ As in the case above, this minus has the effect of telescoping the parallelism of

²⁶⁶ Another omission of a verbal form due to its perceived redundancy has already been mentioned above in connection with a smaller minus in 11Q10's translation of 40:12.

²⁶⁷ *Editio princeps*, 72; M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 150 (also 8); F. Martinez *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 11*, 154; H. Ringgren, 'Some Observations', 119.

the MT and creating a single unit in the Aramaic translation. What factors in the present context have contributed to the triggering of this modification? Sokoloff has observed that the Aramaic construct phrase (ארע מדבר 'land of wilderness' [i.e., wilderness land]) which is formed as a result of the omission is found both in Proverbs 21:19 and in Deuteronomy 32:10. Even if two occurrences of a phrase are sufficient grounds to give it stereotypical status, this consideration on its own seems insufficient to have motivated the omission of the phrase which intervenes in the Hebrew. The RSV's translation of both לא-אֶדָם בֵּן and לא-אִישׁ with virtually identical English equivalents illustrates the synonymy which seems more likely to have triggered the omission of the former phrase in the Hebrew. Of the two phrases, the latter has perhaps been retained because it is not only fuller (in its inclusion of the prepositional phrase) but also conveniently located at the end of the sentence. While the other Aramaic and English translations preserve the poetic form and structure of the Hebrew text, the Qumran translator has apparently seen the first of two near-synonymous phrases in this verse as superfluous with respect to the content of the verse as he construed it. The stylistic constraints within which the Qumran translator worked have clearly allowed him to omit the phrase in translation on account of its perceived redundancy.

42:11 וַיֹּאכְלוּ עִמּוֹ לֶחֶם בְּבֵיתוֹ וַיְנַחֲמוּ אוֹתוֹ עַל כָּל-הָרָעָה

11Q10...ואכלו עמה לחם בביתה (____) ונחמוהי על כל באשתה...

...RtgJob ואכלו עמיה לחמא בביתיה וניידו עלוהי ונחמו יתיה על כל בישתא...

P-Job ...ואכלו עמיה לחמא בביתיה וניידו עלוהי ונחמו יתיה על כל בישתא...

...ואכלו עמיה לחמא בביתיה וניידו עלוהי ונחמו יתיה על כל בישתא...

...and ate with him in his house. They comforted and consoled him over all the trouble... NIV

...and ate bread with him in his house; and they showed him sympathy and comforted him for all the evil... RSV

Although a previous case of omission has already been discussed above with regard to this verse, here we remember that Job 42:11 describes the response of Job's former associates and friends following his restoration. In their own way, both the RSV

and NIV attempt to convey the similarity of the successive Hebrew phrases $\text{וַיִּנְחֲמוּ אוֹתוֹ}$ in the middle of 42:11. While the NIV manages by accident or intent, to reproduce the alliteration of the Hebrew ('comfort' and 'console' for נִחַם and נָחַם) it fails to reproduce the reiteration of the object as does the RSV (repetition of 'him'). The similarity of the two verbal forms appears also to have been noticed by at least one and perhaps two of the Aramaic translators, but with rather different results. The Syriac translator of P-Job provides *dalath* 'for' in place of the Hebrew *waw* conjunction in order to link his translation of the first of the two phrases (וַיִּנְחֲמוּ לוֹ) with the preceding clause: 'and they ate with him in his house *for* they had shown sympathy for him ($\text{וַיִּנְחֲמוּ לוֹ בְּבֵיתוֹ}$)'.²⁶⁸ The second phrase is already grammatically and syntactically related to what follows it and therefore the Syriac translator simply follows the Hebrew in his translation of this portion of text. That P-Job's modification of the Hebrew text is a subtle response to the perceived repetitiveness or redundancy of the successive phrases seems to be supported by the Qumran translator's rendering. As in previous cases, 11Q10 apparently responds to this same perceived redundancy by failing to provide an equivalent for this Hebrew clause. Clearly the stylistic constraint of economy of expression has, in this case, overridden the translator's commitment to furnish an Aramaic equivalent for each element in the Hebrew text.

²⁶⁸ See G. Rignell, *The Peshitta to the Book of Job*, 358. P-Job's relatively rare use of the compound tense (pfct. + וַיִּנְחֲמוּ) to render the consecutive imperfect may indicate that the translator intended the pluperfect. While H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 79 agrees that this compound tense corresponds to the 'pluperfect', T. Muraoka, *Classical Syriac*, § 85 suggests that this tense corresponds in time reference to the simple perfect.

וְהוּא מְסִבּוֹת מִתְהַפֵּן בְּתַחְבּוּלֵתֵיּוֹ לְפַעֲלָם כָּל
אֲשֶׁר יֵצְאֻם עַל-פְּנֵי תִבְלֵי אֶרֶץ־הָ:

11Q10 והוא אמר ישמעון לה ואזלין לעבדיהון
xxix, 3 על כל די ברא יפקדנן על אנפי תבל (____)

RtgJob והוא תוסקפתא מהפך בחכמתיה לאצלחא פלחי בארעא
בעובדיהון ונחתין בכל אתר דפקדנן על-אפי תבל לארעא:
{תא} והוא ברחמוהי מיא שמעתא מהפך באפותיקוהי
לעובדיהון דבני-נשא מגלי יתהון ומשדר יתהון לכל
דפקדנן על-אפי תבל לארעא:

P-Job אסמא מלכא דאסמא דאסמא דאסמא דאסמא
בא אסמא דאסמא דאסמא דאסמא דאסמא

They turn round and round by his guidance, to accomplish all that he commands them on the face of the habitable world. RSV

In Job 37:12, divine sovereignty over nature is illustrated through a reference to the deity's directing of the clouds. It is at the end of this verse that we encounter another example of a minus in 11Q10 when compared with the MT. The combination of תִּבְלֵי 'world' and אֶרֶץ־הָ 'earth' is not a common one. Where it is attested elsewhere in Proverbs 8 (verse 31) it is preserved in the form of בְּתִבְלֵי אֶרֶץ־הָ leading some to suggest that here in Job, the Syriac translator's rendering (ܡܠܬܐ 'his world') reflects the correct Hebrew reading rather than אֶרֶץ־הָ which, if it is to be retained, perhaps represents a poetic form also preserved in 34:13.²⁶⁹ In light of the Syriac translator's clear tendency to provide suffixes under the influence of the assumed context (i.e., making explicit what the Hebrew is perceived to imply) the Syriac suffix may not necessarily point to an alternate Hebrew text.²⁷⁰ RtgJob in its rendering simply provides an intervening preposition perhaps in order to clarify the syntactical relationship between the two nouns. The gen-

²⁶⁹ S.R. Driver and G.B. Gray, *The Book of Job* (II), 292-93.

²⁷⁰ H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 102 n.109 lists more than 25 instances where P-Job's addition of a suffix has been motivated by a desire for clarity and explicitness.

eral synonymy of תָּבַל and אָרַץ is demonstrated by the fact that they frequently occur in parallel stichs elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible (e.g., Is. 14:21, 24:4, 34:1, Je 10:12, Ps 19:5 etc.). Job too provides an example of this usage in 34:13, a passage discussed earlier, where the Qumran translator provides the expected Aramaic cognates of the Hebrew terms. Here, however, the two terms appear not in parallel but adjacent to one another and the Qumran translator has clearly responded to this perceived semantic overload of two synonymous lexemes in such close proximity by failing to provide an equivalent for Hebrew אָרַץ.

42:9 וַיִּלְכּוּ אֲלֵיפֹז הַתִּימָנִי וּבִלְדָּד הַשּׁוּחִי צִפֹּר הַנְּעֻמָּתִי וַיַּעֲשׂוּ כְּאֲשֶׁר
דִּבֶּר אֲלֵיהֶם יְהוָה וַיֵּשָׂא יְהוָה אֶת־פָּנָיו אֵיּוֹב: (_____)

11Q10 אלהא ושמע א[ל]הא בקלה די איוב ושִׁבֹּק³ xxxviii, 3
להון חטאיהון בדילה

RtgJob ואזלו אליפז דמן תימן ובלדד דמן שוח וצפר דמן נעמה
ועבדו היך דמליל להון מימרא דיי ו«נ»סב/וסבר
יי ית אפי איוב: (_____)

P-Job מאולא אלפו למחנא חבלדו צמסא חספו נבולא. חבדו
אף דאמו למסא חבדו חבדו חבדו חבדו. (_____)

Although the textual minus to be discussed in this instance occurs in 11Q10's translation of Job 42:10, attention must first be given to the Qumran translation's rendering of the preceding verse 9. In 42:9, following what appears to be a rather loose translation of the final clause in the MT וַיֵּשָׂא יְהוָה אֶת־פָּנָיו אֵיּוֹב (11Q10: ושמע א[ל]הא). the translator of 11Q10 provides a final clause that finds no correspondence in the Masoretic text: וּשְׁבֹק³ לְהוֹן חַטְאֵיהוֹן בְּדִילָה 'and he forgave them their sins on account of him'. The substantial similarity between the Greek translation's addition (καὶ ἔλυσεν τὴν ἀμαρτίαν αὐτοῖς διὰ Ἰωβ) and that of 11Q10 may be explained either by the translators use of a common *Vorlage* at this point, or by a similar

translation tradition connected with this verse, or finally, by a dependence of one on the other.²⁷¹ Whatever the reasons for the inclusion of this ‘additional’ material in the Qumran translation its presence here in verse 9 seems to have had some bearing on the translator’s treatment of verse 10 below,

42:10 וַיְהִי־זָכַב אֶת־שִׁבְיָתָא *שְׁבוּת אִיּוֹב בְּהִתְפַּלֵּלָו בְּעַד
רַעְיָהּ וַיִּסֹּף יְהִיָּה אֶת־כָּל־אֲשֶׁר לְאִיּוֹב לְמִשְׁנָה:

11Q10 ותב אלהא *לאיוב* ברחמין (_____) xxxviii, 4
ויהב (____) לה חד תרין בכל די הוא לה

RtgJob ומימרא דיי אתיב ית גלוות איוב בצלאותיה משול חברוהי
ואוסיף מימר דיי ית כל דהוה לאיוב בכופלא:
{לא} על חד תרין:

P-Job הַיְהוָה אֲמַלְךָ צַבְלָמָה דְאִיּוֹב בְּנִתְפַלְלָא לְדַעְבָּרָא
הָאֲמַלְךָ מִלְכָּא בְּלִבְנָה דְאִיּוֹב לִמְלָכָא אֲמַרָא.

After Job had prayed for his friends, the LORD made him prosperous again and (_____) gave him twice as much as he had before. NIV

And the LORD restored the fortunes of Job, when he had prayed for his friends; and the LORD gave Job twice as much as he had before. RSV

As we can see above, the MT phrase בְּהִתְפַּלֵּלָו בְּעַד רַעְיָהּ ‘...when he prayed for his friends’ is apparently not translated by 11Q10.²⁷² In light of 11Q10’s tendency to omit

²⁷¹ While the editors of F. Martinez *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 11*, 171 rightly observe that ‘the relationship [between the Hebrew, Greek and 11Q10] is complicated’ it is perhaps possible to offer a tentative explanation of the situation. In light of the wide variety of idiomatic uses of the Hebrew verb נָשָׂא it is not surprising to encounter this verb earlier in Job, in conjunction with פָּשַׁע. In an earlier context in chapter 7 (v.21) נָשָׂא appears to refer to the forgiveness of sins (אֶת־עֲוֹנִי אֶת־עֲבִירִי אֶת־פָּשָׁעִי וְתַעֲבִיר אֶת־עֲוֹנִי). Support for this suggestion comes from the fact that in Job 7:21a, both RtgJob and P-Job utilise the exact same verb נָשָׂא ‘to forgive’ as is used here by 11Q10. It is suggested that a doublet translation here may be related to the conscious or unconscious influence of the parallel verse (7:21) and a reference to Job’s prayer for his friends which appears in the following verse 42:10. That the material preserved in LXX and 11Q10 is nearly identical may suggest the possibility that this doublet translation was already present in a shared *Vorlage* as opposed to arising from a common translation tradition (which would itself not be surprising at this key theological juncture in the Hebrew book of Job).

²⁷² Hebrew רַעְיָהּ is to be identified according to R. Gordis, *The Book of Job*, 495 not as a singular (friend)

material considered to be redundant, the most likely motivation for this omission (as suggested in the *editio princeps*)²⁷³ would seem to be its similarity to the doublet translation shared by LXX and 11Q10 in 42:9. It would appear that the mention of Job's praying for his friends here in verse 10 has seemed superfluous to the translator in light of his version of verse 9 'and he forgave them their sins on account of him' in which Job's role in the friends' rehabilitation is already discussed. In fact, this omission may shed some light on the question of whether the doublet translation of 42:9 in both Qumran and Greek versions resulted from translator's intervention or a shared *Vorlage*. In addition to the unlikelihood of two translator's arriving at virtually the same translation independently, it seems relatively unlikely that the translator of 11Q10 would intervene to provide a doublet translation in verse 9 and then omit בְּהִתְפַּלֵּל בְּעַד רֵעֵהוּ (a portion of the text whose presence is confirmed by its translation in LXX) in the following verse as redundant. This would seem to lend support to the idea that in 42:9 the doublet translation was part of a shared *Vorlage* being used by LXX and 11Q10. While it is impossible to be sure of this, what does seem fairly clear is that it is the presence of a related passage in verse 9 which has led to the omission of material in verse 10 rather than any intrinsic problem of understanding or comprehension of the clause in verse 10 itself.

Further examination of the Qumran translation's rendering of this verse provides a final, striking example of the translator's omission of an element because of its perceived redundancy. Verse 10 begins with the masculine singular subjects explicitly expressed by proper nouns (יְהוָה and אִיּוֹב). When the narrative resumes following the intervening temporal clause (omitted as superfluous in 11Q10), the Hebrew text explicitly reiterates the nouns which name these agents (וַיִּסֹּף יְהוָה...). When we turn to the Aramaic versions' treatment of this verse, we see that all three provide the expected representation of the proper nouns in the first portion of the verse. For the tetragrammaton, the Syriac supplies the customary ܡܠܟܐ, while 11Q10 provides its usual ܐܠܗܐ and the

but rather as a defective spelling of the plural as in 1 Sam. 30:26.

²⁷³ *Editio princeps*, 86.

Rabbinic targumist augments his representation with *memra* (מִמְרָא רִיִּי)—a convention widely, but not consistently adopted in targum translations. Similarly, when these proper nouns are reiterated in the second portion of the Hebrew text of this verse, both RtgJob and the Syriac translation follow suit in supplying the equivalents already provided earlier in the verse. The Qumran translation, however, parts company with these other Aramaic versions at this point. In 11Q10 we see that although the 3rd masc. singular subject is made clear by the inflected verb form (וַיִּתֵּן) ‘and he gave’) the translator has not explicitly expressed the divine name as is the case in both the Hebrew text and 11Q10’s fellow Aramaic translations. Similarly, instead of representing the second occurrence of אֱלֹהִים with the full proper noun in Aramaic as in the Syriac and targumic versions, the translator of 11Q10 instead opts to refer to Job pronominally (לֵה). Although formally this is in fact a substitution rather than an omission it nevertheless stems from the same motivation: the elimination of repetition because of its perceived superfluousness.

The English translation provided by the NIV sheds further light on the Qumran text’s treatment of the Hebrew. First, although the translation in its case involves Hebrew to English rather than Hebrew to Aramaic, we see that, as with 11Q10, the second occurrence of the tetragrammaton is not represented in its translation (the LORD made him prosperous again and (_____) gave him...). Those responsible for the NIV have, like the translator of the Qumran text, preferred the economy of pronominal reference to an explicit rendering of the proper noun ‘Job’. As we have no reason to doubt that the NIV translators were working from the MT here, this parallel approach to translating the Hebrew suggests that despite the substantial linguistic differences between Aramaic and English, both have preferred economy of reference to the explicit repetition for which the Hebrew text is famed.²⁷⁴

²⁷⁴ Additionally, the fact that the NIV is presumably translating from the MT undermines, to some extent, the necessity of positing an alternate *Vorlage* as the cause for the Qumran translation’s divergence.

Summary of Unique Omissions in 11Q10

Sometimes the main reason for supposing that a minus has occurred in the text of 11Q10 is, as we have seen, simply the apparent lack of space sufficient to contain even a word-for-word rendering of the source text. While the analysis of such apparent textual minuses is not without its problems, possible causes for such minuses include textual error, euphemism, or an element missing from 11Q10's variant Hebrew *Vorlage*. In any case, any such conclusions are necessarily tentative due to the fact that the textual minus is simply inferred from a lack of space.

The situation is marginally more clear when it seems that a particular element in the MT has not been represented in a corresponding order in the Aramaic translation provided by 11Q10. In fact, were it safe to assume that the Qumran translation reproduces the word order of the MT in all cases, the evident lack of such Aramaic equivalents would provide us with clear cases of material omitted in translation. In the case of 11Q10, however, we do not have access to the text now lost in the lacuna and therefore it remains uncertain whether we are dealing with a case of an outright minus or rather simply a dislocation in a re-ordered Aramaic translation. In explaining these apparent minuses, the possibility of a copyist's error in transcribing the Aramaic text which may have preceded our copy of 11Q10 may be added to the catalogue of possibilities already mentioned.

The analysis of more certain instances of a textual minus is nevertheless complicated by the difficulty involved in an assessment of the underlying causes. In some cases, these deficiencies in the Qumran translation seem to be related to the fact that the translator has struggled to understand the text. Whether the translator's struggles are due to the inadequacies of the text as opposed to a lack of Hebrew proficiency is a very difficult question to answer satisfactorily. However, the enduring challenges offered by the Hebrew text of Job caution us against drawing the conclusion that the Qumran translator's understanding of Hebrew was particularly deficient. Unlike some of the minuses whose existence, let alone motivation, is less clear, instances of omission related to textual difficulties seem to find some correspondence in P-Job (29:7; 34:13) not in

terms of the mode of representation (P-Job = substitution) but in terms of their common awareness of, and response to, unusual or irregular textual phenomena. The translator of RtgJob on the other hand, whether more able to cope with Hebrew textual problems or satisfied to pass over them, appears to follow the Hebrew text more closely.

It is quite clear that on some occasions in 11Q10, a textual minus has arisen under the influence of a prior translation decision. In other words, the omission of an element seems to follow as a result of the translator's attempt to provide an idiomatic expression in light of his previous adjustment of the source text. The general impression suggested by these examples is that in 11Q10, certain elements may be sacrificed in the translation process for the sake of idiomatic fluency.

The topic of idiomatic fluency leads directly to a final category of minuses detected in 11Q10. In these examples, it is again a concern for an acceptable and intelligible Aramaic target text which seems to lie behind the omission of certain elements present in the Hebrew source text and preserved to various degrees in the other Aramaic translations. That is, it seems to be the very reconstitution of the Hebrew text into Aramaic which has led to the textual minus, rather than discernible local or immediate textual concerns. The reconstitution of the source text into Aramaic involves both linguistic and stylistic adaptation. In terms of these categories, elements are apparently omitted because they are perceived by the translator as either not required [i.e. stylistic-poetic constraint] or not permitted [i.e. properly linguistic constraint] by the form of Aramaic into which the translation is being made.

Several considerations in the present context, however, mean that any line which may be drawn between linguistic and stylistic constraints should not be considered a hard or fast one. While it is apparent that a modification is broadly linguistic/stylistic in nature, we must at times be satisfied with locating a given adaptation somewhere on a continuum between the stylistic and the linguistic. While a few cases of omission are probably related to properly linguistic constraints which necessarily constrain the translator, most of these omissions fall into the category of stylistic modifications which are intimately bound up with an assessment of the co-text. In particular, several examples

of omission seem to stem from the translator's perception that a given element in his Hebrew source text is stylistically superfluous. These instances clearly show that the stylistic constraint of economy of expression has in this case overridden the translator's commitment to furnish an Aramaic equivalent for each element in the Hebrew text.

CHAPTER 3

P-JOB

Unlike the situation with respect to the Qumran Aramaic translation, considerable scholarly attention has been given to the phenomenon of textual deficiency in the Syriac version of Job. It is now more than a hundred years since Mandl provided a simple list of instances where he understood the Syriac translator to have omitted either a character or a word in his production of the Peshitta of Job.²⁷⁵ E. Dhorme, in his commentary on Job, also provided such a list but it was H. Szpek's study of P-Job which first examined in a systematic way the omission of material in P-Job's translation of the Hebrew.²⁷⁶ Although the scope and structure of her study did not afford Szpek the luxury of including examples of all the instances of omission assessed in the course of her study, she did classify omissions in P-Job under four main categories of analysis: grammar, syntax, semantics, and style.²⁷⁷ Further discussion of Szpek's assessment of P-Job is taken up at the conclusion of this study in the hope that a comparative look at the Aramaic versions will shed light both on Szpek's own analysis of P-Job and the relationship between the Aramaic translations themselves.²⁷⁸

As we have seen in the previous chapter, the analysis of omission in the Qumran text is complicated by the fragmentary state of the MS. In the case of the Syriac version, however, we are provided with an essentially whole text which, by and large, represents

²⁷⁵ A. Mandl, *Die Peschitta zum Hiob* (Leipzig: 1892) 25-6.

²⁷⁶ E. Dhorme, *A Commentary on the Book of Job* (H. Knight, transl.) (London: Nelson, 1967) ccxviii; H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 260-6.

²⁷⁷ H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 31-32 similarly draws distinctions between different units of translation such as morphemes, words, phrases, clauses and sentences.

²⁷⁸ H.M. Szpek 'On the Influence of the Targum', 144 suggests that in terms of semantics at least, the

a complete Aramaic translation of the Hebrew book of Job. As a result, in dealing with P-Job, the question of whether or not material has in fact been omitted in the Syriac version, or has simply been lost as a result of the degradation of the manuscript is not one which requires the same attention. If, however, this particular element of uncertainty is removed from the analysis with respect to P-Job, the specific reasons for an element in the Hebrew text going unrepresented in the Syriac version of Job are not necessarily more obvious than was the case with the Qumran translation. We see this in the first example, drawn from the Syriac rendering of Job 22:3:

22:3 הַחֶפֶץ לְשָׂדֵי כִּי תִצְדָּק וְאַם' בְּצֶעַ כִּי־תִתֶּם דְּרָכֶיךָ:

11Q10 [...] לֹא] לְהָא vi, 2 [...] אֲרַחֵךְ

RtgJob העסקא אית לשדי ארום תזכי ואין ממון ארום תשלים אורחתך:

P-Job () חֲכָמָא מִלֵּוֹדָא דְחִלְשָׁתָא אֵלֶּם אֲחִידְשָׁתָא מִן דְּלִלְשָׁתָא

Is it any pleasure to the Almighty if you are righteous, or is it gain to him if you make your ways blameless? RSV

While the Qumran translation of Job 22:3 is only partially preserved, the fact that 11Q10 appears to render the MT divine name שְׂדֵי here with אֲלֵהָ²⁷⁹ suggests that at least part of the first half of verse 3 has been provided with an Aramaic equivalent. Whatever the case with respect to the Qumran text, it does appear that the translator of the Syriac version has omitted the first half of the verse in his rendering. Apart from the latter supplementary phrase (ܡܢ ܕܠܝܬܐ 'out of fear')²⁸⁰ the translation provided by P-

numerous omissions found in P-Job find no parallel in RtgJob.

²⁷⁹ This same equivalent is also chosen by the Qumran translator at 22:17. At 34:12 a form of מֵרָא is used, while at 17:13b, this divine name is represented by a suffix attached to a preposition. For the Syriac translators representation of שְׂדֵי (ܐܠܗܐ 13x) in Job see H.M. Szpek, 'An Observation on the Peshitta's Translation of ŠDY in Job' VT 47 [4] (1997) 550-553.

²⁸⁰ The overall length of the Syriac translation approaches that of the Hebrew source text because P-Job has included its rendering of the beginning of MT 22:4 (ܡܢ ܕܠܝܬܐ) adding ܡܢ ܕܠܝܬܐ 'out of fear' at the end of verse 3 in the Syriac (See G. Rignell, *The Peshitta to the Book of Job*, 177).

Job: ܐܕܡܐ ܕܢܝܥܐ ܕܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܐ ‘and what gain is it for you to perfect your ways’ corresponds quite closely to the Hebrew text of 22:3b. While Baumann simply notes the omission of 22:3a without reference to possible causes, Szpek reflects on possible motivations for the deficiency here.²⁸¹ In the first instance she notes that the omission of 22:3a may have resulted from the translator’s perception that its statement regarding the deity was in some way objectionable.²⁸² Szpek appears to reject this explanation noting that ‘...the subject matter is no harsher than other statements about God in the text of Job.’ In addition, she later includes 22:3 amongst the passages cited as lacking in P-Job due to translator error.²⁸³ Later in a discussion of ‘significant parallels’ between the Greek and Syriac translations, Szpek also notes that the LXX too lacks a representation of Job 22:3a.²⁸⁴ Whether intending to or not, Szpek’s analysis of P-Job’s omission of 22:3 amply illustrates that, as was the case with the Qumran translation, the reasons for a given deficiency in P-Job may be less than transparent. Was it an error on the part of the translator which led to this omission or was the error during the transmission of his (and perhaps the LXX’s) *Vorlage*? Or was Szpek right in the first place to assume that it was a theological ‘problem’ which led the translator to omit this first portion of 22:3? The answer is by no means clear, even if the lack of a Syriac representation of the Hebrew is relatively obvious.

Similarly in P-Job’s translation of 39:10, we see that the Syriac translator has not provided an equivalent for each element of the Hebrew text.

²⁸¹ E. Baumann, ‘Verwendbarkeit der Peshita zum Buche Ijob für die Textkritik’ (1899) 39; A. Mandl, *Die Peschitta zum Hiob*, 26 also notes an omission in 22:3 but fails to specify that it is only a portion of the verse which lacks representation in P-Job.

²⁸² H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 162.

²⁸³ H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 167 n.88.

39:10 הִתְקַשְׁרוּ רִים בְּתֵלִים עֲבָתוּ אִם־יִשְׁדֹּד עֲמָקִים אַחֲרָיִךְ:
 11Q10 התקטרן[?] (ראמא) ב[נירית ויס[דר] בבקעה אחרריך
 RtgJob איפשר/אושר/ דתקטור רימנא בתלמא דא/שישליה
 אין ישדר גלימתא מן-בתרך:
 P-Job דלמא אשו אעם נא ב סולס דזמא. דזכז פנא
 באדא חמא. (_____)

Can you bind him in the furrow with ropes, or will he harrow the valleys after you? RSV

G. Rignell may be right in suggesting that P-Job's paraphrastic translation of MT עמק 'valleys' with באדא חמא 'a difficult place' is based on a reading of עמק as 'unsearchable (i.e., difficult)' (Is. 33:19, Ezek 3:5,6). But if this is the case, it is hard to see why the more straight-forward meaning of the term was not read.²⁸⁵ Whatever the reasons for this modification, it seems clear that the translator has not provided an equivalent for the final prepositional phrase which is preserved in the Hebrew text (אחריך) and translated by the other Aramaic versions (11Q10 אחרריך²⁸⁶ / RtgJob מן-בתרך). Although E. Baumann notes this omission, he suggests that this deficiency and the divergent translation already discussed באדא חמא is an unlikely Syriac rendering and proposes instead that the present text is an inner-Syriac corruption from בלדא.²⁸⁷ While Baumann presents a plausible argument for the corruption of בלדא to באדא חמא, Szpek in her analysis of the passage remains unconvinced.²⁸⁸

²⁸⁴ H. Szpek, 'On the Influence of the Septuagint on the Peshitta', 257.

²⁸⁵ G. Rignell, *The Peshitta to the Book of Job*, 332 also suggests the possibility that the translator misread *samekh* for *mem* (which presumably led to the reading of חמא). Where עמק is elsewhere translated by the Aramaic versions of Job (39:21) RtgJob and 11Q10 translate as they do here, while P-Job renders with the cognate באדא.

²⁸⁶ *Editio princeps*, 74; *ATQ*, 63 and J. Fitzmyer, and D.J. Harrington, (eds.) *A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts*, 40; F. Martinez *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 11*, 156 read only the *resh* and final *kaph* clearly.

²⁸⁷ E. Baumann, 'Verwendbarkeit der Peshita', (1899) 47.

²⁸⁸ H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 168 without explicit reference to Baumann's discussion com-

Here again we have a case of an element being omitted (or apparently omitted) in the Syriac translation, but the nature of the text leaves us to surmise why such an element of the text is lacking.

Again in 21:4 we encounter a Syriac text which is deficient when compared to its supposed Hebrew source text:

21:4 הָאֲנֹכִי לְאָדָם שִׁיתִי וְאִם-מְדוּעַ לֹא-תִקְצֹר רוּחִי:

11Q10 אֲרוּ אִפּוּ לֹא ת[... ..]

RtgJob הָבָרָם אֲנִי לְבֶר-נֶשׁ מִלְתִּי וְאִין מִדִּין לֹא תִתְעַק/תִּתְעַיֶּק/ רוּחִי:

P-Job אֲנִי לְבֶר-נֶשׁ מִלְתִּי () לְבֶר () מִלְתִּי דִּתְעַק.

As for me, [is] my complaint to man? and if [it were so], why should not my spirit be troubled? AV

As for me, is my complaint addressed to mortals? Why should I not be impatient? NRSV

The unusual element in the Hebrew of 21:4 is the elliptical conditional MT formation 'and if [that is so], why...'.²⁸⁹ In place of this, the Qumran translation provides an affirmative declaration אֲרוּ אִפּוּ, 'behold/surely, then...[my spirit] shall not [be impatient?]'.²⁹⁰ Assuming that the remainder of 11Q10's translation followed the MT, this modification has the effect of eliminating the interrogative in favour of a pious assertion which reflects rather better on the character and figure of Job. While RtgJob presents Aramaic equivalents for all the elements of the MT, P-Job, like 11Q10, introduces modifications into its translation. The Syriac translator handles the Hebrew text in a dif-

ments: 'Do we suggest a different *Vorlage*? a sloppy or sleepy-eyed copyist? In cases such as this no answer at present may be the best answer.' See M.P. Weitzman, *The Syriac version of the Old Testament*, 292-300 for the few instances where Weitzman has favoured an emendation of the Syriac text on the basis of a comparison with the MT.

²⁸⁹ See M. Pope, *Job: Introduction, Translation, and Notes* [3rd ed.] (New York: Doubleday, 1979) 157.

²⁹⁰ As read by ATQ, 17; M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 35; E.W. Tuinstra, *Hermeneutische Aspecten*, 11; B. Jongeling, *Een Aramees boek Job*, 45; B.E. Zuckerman, *The Process of Translation*, 145. The standard rendering of Hebrew אִם here with אִין in RtgJob is paralleled in the other two versions (P-Job ܐܝܢ, 11Q10 ܐܝܢ) at 27:4, 27:14, 31:13, 31:16, 37:13, 38:4.

ferent fashion, apparently ignoring both the conditional particle and the negative²⁹¹ and instead forming what appears to be a type of indirect rhetorical question ܠܡܐ ‘why [should] my spirit be impatient?’. The translator’s omission of the awkward ܕܢܐ may be explained as an adaptation of a difficult text (see the differing English versions offered by AV and NRSV above) but the omission of the negative produces a translation which would seem to parallel that of the Qumran translation in terms of meaning.²⁹² The modified rhetorical question in the Syriac (‘Why should my spirit be impatient/troubled?’) would seem to have much the same meaning as the apparent assertion in 11Q10, despite the fact that the manner in which the translators have achieved their ends is quite different (substitution vs. omission).²⁹³ The preservation of Job’s reputation may be a factor in the translator’s omission here, but it is also important to note that the unusual Hebrew construction and resulting omission of the conditional particle ܕܢܐ may have also played a part in P-Job’s adaptation of the Syriac text. One or more of these factors (perhaps in combination) will probably have contributed to the omission here but in this situation, the isolation of primary or sole motivation proves difficult.

As may be seen below, an even smaller element of the Hebrew text has gone missing in P-Job’s translation of Job 38:8,

²⁹¹ As noted by A. Mandl, *Die Peschitta zum Hiob*, 26; E. Baumann, ‘Verwendbarkeit der Peshita’, (1899) 307.

²⁹² R.P. Gordon, “‘Converse Translation’ in the Targums and Beyond” *JSP* 19 (1999) 3-21 provides examples of converse translation [i.e., contradictive rendition] (some involving omission of the negative) in the Peshitta and in the LXX and concludes that converse translation as found in the targums ‘...exists in healthy proportions in the other ancient versions and cannot... ..be dismissed as a product of early, crude approaches to Targumizing’ (19).

²⁹³ The similarity between 11Q10 and P-Job here has also been noted by B.E. Zuckerman, *The Process of Translation*, 146 n.47. See H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 203- 211 for discussion of P-Job’s rendering of interrogatives.

38:8 וַיִּסַּף בְּדִלְתַיִם יָם בְּגִיחוֹ מִרְחֹם יֵצֵא:

11Q10 התסוג בדשין ימא ב[ה]גחותה מן רחם תהומא 7, xxx למפק

RtgJob וטלל וסגר בדשייא ימא במגחיה

מן תהומא ממין רחמא יפוק:

P-Job ܡܫܠܠ () ܡܫܠܠ ܡܢ ܪܚܡܐ ܡܡܝܢ ܪܚܡܐ ܝܫܬܐܪ

Who shut up the sea behind doors when it burst forth from the womb, NIV

Or who shut in the sea with doors, when it burst forth from the womb; RSV

While the general meaning of the Hebrew seems relatively straightforward, the difference between the two English versions ('behind'[NIV], 'with' [RSV]) in rendering the preposition -ב, suggests the possibility that the perceived ambiguity of this element may have triggered a reaction in one of the Aramaic versions. Both 11Q10 and RtgJob provide the expected renderings of the Hebrew text, with both texts representing the preposition with the Aramaic cognate.²⁹⁴ The Peshitta translation on the other hand does not appear to provide a Syriac equivalent for the preposition with the result that its equivalents for ܕִּלְתַיִם יָם appear in construct in the Syriac (ܡܢ ܪܚܡܐ). While in the Hebrew text (and likewise in 11Q10 and RtgJob) the doors are the means by which the sea is shut in or closed up, in the Syriac translation the lack of preposition means that it is 'the doors of the sea' (ܡܢ ܪܚܡܐ) themselves which are closed up tight. G. Rignell suggests that the translator has simply ignored the preposition in his rendering of the text into Syriac, but the question of why this preposition has been ignored by the translator is not necessarily clear. It is true that 'to close (something) with doors' is a rather exceptional

²⁹⁴ The Qumran text presents the noun in its plural absolute form בדשין while the Rabbinic Targum presents an emphatic plural form בדשייא. as noted by R. Weiss, *התרגום הארמי לספר איוב*, 139 and C. Mangan, *The Targum to Job*, 82. While the RtgJob MS tradition preserves numerous variants to this reading (e.g. כר דשיא [ט] ברישיא) these seem to be quite obviously related to inner-targumic corruption based on confusion of characters. In any case the variant texts also preserve an Aramaic element for each corresponding element in the Hebrew text. For complete variant citations see critical apparatus of D.M. Stec, *The Text of the Targum of Job*, 268.

expression in the Hebrew Bible in comparison with the more common (סגר+דלת) ‘to close door(s)’²⁹⁵) but the Hebrew text here does nevertheless seem to make reasonable sense and does not appear to require modification. While this may simply be an error on the part of the Syriac translator it is also possible that it is instead an error in the co-text which has led to the loss of the preposition for several commentators see the translator of P-Job here as taking the dual ending of בְּדִלְתַיִם (followed by יָם) as a dittography in the Hebrew text and adjusting the translation accordingly so that its rendering of ‘doors’ would be in construct with ‘the sea’. This modification would then lead to the otherwise unexpected omission of the preposition as meaningless (i.e., ‘he shut [with] the doors of the sea’?) in the new Syriac translation²⁹⁶ Here again, we see that an element has been omitted in P-Job but also that the cause of the deficiency is not altogether clear.

23:3 מִי־יִתֵּן יָדַעְתִּי וְאַמְצֶאֱהוּ אָבוֹא עַד־תְּכוֹנְתּוֹ:

11Q10 מְלוֹא אַנְדַּע וְאַשְׁכְּ[חַנָּה] vii^a, 4 [אתר מדרה

RtgJob מן יגזור אנדע ואשכחניה/ואישכחיניה איתי

עד מדור בית-מוקדשיה:

P-Job מִי־יִתֵּן יָדַעְתִּי וְאַמְצֶאֱהוּ אָבוֹא עַד־תְּכוֹנְתּוֹ:

Oh, that I knew where I might find him, that I might come even to his dwelling! NRSV

The Hebrew idiom expressing a wish מִי־יִתֵּן ‘Would that [lit. who would allow that]’ occurs frequently in Job and although it is rendered with a variety of Aramaic expressions by the translators of RtgJob and P-Job, this verse is unfortunately the only one preserved by all three versions. The Qumran translator’s treatment of this idiom involves the substitution of a non-verbal Aramaic equivalent (מְלוֹא) which has close parallels in the Hebrew of Job (e.g. 6:2). While the Rabbinic targumist often provides a lit-

²⁹⁵ E.g. Ju.3:23; 2 Kgs. 4:4, 5, 33; Isa. 26:20; Mal. 1:10; Qoh. 12:4.

²⁹⁶ A. Mandl, *Die Peschitta zum Hiob*, 29. E. Baumann, ‘Verwendbarkeit der Peshita’, (1900) 273; E. Dhorme, *A Commentary on the Book of Job*, 577.

Despite the clear indications then that the form is missing in the Syriac, we are left with a plurality of factors which may singly or in some combination explain its absence.

In 28:26 it is again the preposition **ב** which has not found representation in the Syriac translation of the Hebrew.

28:26 **בַּעֲשֵׂתְךָ לְמָטָר חֶקֶן וְדָרָךְ לַחֲזִיז קִלְוֹת:**

11Q10 **במעבד[ה] ... קלילין** xiii, 8

במעבדיה למטרא קיימא גזירתא ומהלך לחזיז דרהטין בקליא: RtgJob

(_) **ܠܡܥܒܕܝܠܡܬܪܐ ܩܝܡܐ ܓܙܝܪܬܐ ܘܡܗܠܟ ܠܚܙܝܝܐ ܕܪܗܬܝܢ ܒܩܠܝܐ.** P-Job

when he made a decree for the rain, and a way for the lightning of the thunder; RSV

While the other Aramaic versions preserve the temporal clause through the retention of the infinitive construct, the Syriac translator appears to omit the preposition *beth* and instead supply a finite verb (**ܠܡܥܒܕ**). Although some adjustment of verbal forms is expected when Hebrew is rendered into Syriac, the omission of the temporal element is one which is neither expected nor necessary from a linguistic point of view.³⁰² How then can the omission of the temporal conjunction at this point in P-Job be best explained? The omission of the conjunction may have something to do with the fact that the Syriac translator has begun his translation of each of the three previous verses (vv. 23, 24, 25) with a conjunction and has therefore been inclined to resist beginning this verse with the conjunction attested in the Hebrew.³⁰³ Alternatively, this omission may simply result from an indefinable stylistic preference which is dependent on this particular context. In short while the lack of a temporal conjunction in P-Job is obvious

been omitted. Baumann seems to attribute the genuine omission to its absence in the underlying Hebrew text—removed there in order to relieve an ‘overloaded and difficult’ Hebrew text.

³⁰² See H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 80-83 for a detailed examination of Syriac and Hebrew verbal correspondences in Job. In 29:7 and 38:9 where the Hebrew also presents the Syriac translator with initial infinitive construct forms, P-Job provides **ܠܡ** ‘when’ before finite forms of the verb.

³⁰³ 28:23 **ܐܠܝܐ** (=MT 0), 28:24 **ܐܠܝܐ** (=MT כי), 28:25 **ܐܠܝܐ** (=MT-ב).

(versus its preservation in its sister Aramaic versions) we are left with little means for deducing the cause of the deficiency.³⁰⁴

While the preceding examples of omission in P-Job have all involved relatively small portions of the Hebrew text, there are also instances where larger units (i.e., verse[s]) are apparently omitted in the Syriac version of Job. For example, although the Qumran translation's rendering of Job 30:3-4 is fragmentary it is apparent nevertheless that the translator of the text has attempted to make sense of the textual material lying between verses 2 and 5 of chapter 30.³⁰⁵ The Rabbinic targum, for its part, also includes complete translations of the verses in chapter 30, but when we turn to the Syriac version, we see that the Peshitta of Job does not preserve a rendering of 30:3-5a.³⁰⁶ If the deficiency is clear enough, there is little scholarly consensus regarding the reasons for it. M. Weitzman suggests that these omissions result from the translator's abdication of his responsibility because of the difficulty of the Hebrew material before him.³⁰⁷ It is true that these verses do contain some rare botanical terminology and pose more than their fair share of thorny interpretative questions,³⁰⁸ but Rignell remains unconvinced that the Syriac translator has omitted these verses because of their difficulty when other equally difficult verses are readily translated.³⁰⁹ Instead he appears to attribute their omission to an earlier copy of the Syriac text which has been damaged at some point. H. Szpek, noting that verses are also omitted in chapter 41 in close proximity to one another

³⁰⁴ In 31:28, P-Job's failure to represent Heb. מִן־עֵל 'on high' in its translation is noted by A. Mandl, *Die Peschitta zum Hiob*, 26 and E. Baumann, 'Verwendbarkeit der Peshita', (1900) 195. Presumably because all other occurrences of this Hebrew form in Job have been rendered proximately by the Syriac translator, H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 167 suggests that its omission here stems from an error on the part of the translator. Error may be the cause of the deficiency here but lacking any contextual grounds for such an assumption, it may be safest to simply admit our uncertainty.

³⁰⁵ E.g. 30:3: [בְּאִשָּׁה] xiv, 8 [...] רַעִין הוּא יֶרֶק [...] xiv, 7 and 30:4: [...] לַחֲמֹהָן [...] xiv, 9 [...] דִּי אַכְלָן [...] xiv, 8.

³⁰⁶ A. Mandl, *Die Peschitta zum Hiob*, 26 notes the absence of these two verses but does not offer an explanation for their absence.

³⁰⁷ M.P. Weitzman, 'The Interpretive Character of the Syriac Old Testament' in M. Sæbø (ed.) *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: the history of its interpretation* 1 pt. 1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996) 393 and again in M.P. Weitzman, *The Syriac version of the Old Testament*, 45.

³⁰⁸ See S.R. Driver and G.B. Gray, *The Book of Job* (I), 252-53; M. Pope, *Job*, 219-220.

³⁰⁹ G. Rignell, *The Peshitta to the Book of Job*, 234.

(v.21a, 22-24a) also suggests that it is probable that here the lacunae of a previously damaged text were translated unwittingly by a copyist.³¹⁰ While there is no doubt that Syriac material corresponding to the Hebrew verses is lacking then, it is equally clear that damage to a manuscript, erroneous omission, or a difficult text may all be plausibly advanced as causes for its absence.

The possibility that the Syriac translator has been dissuaded from providing a translation because the material mentioned above was beyond his decipherment leads us to consider other examples which seem to suggest that an omission is related to a perceived textual difficulty or challenge. Again as was the case with the Qumran translation, the key is the Syriac translator's perception of difficulty rather than textual impossibilities or improbabilities in any absolute sense.

38:25 מִי-פִלַּג לְשֹׁטֵף תִּעֲלֶה וְדָרָךְ לַחֲנוּי קִלּוֹת
 11Q10 מִן שׁוּיָא xxxi, 3 לַמַּטְרָא זִמְן וְאַרְחָא לַעֲנָנִין קִלִּילִין
 RtgJob מֵאֵן טַאִיף לְשֹׁטְפָא דְתַהוּמָא חֲרִיצִי מִיָּא וְקִצְתָּהוֹן
 דְּלֹא לַעִילָא וְאוּרְחָא לַעֲנָנִי דְמַחְתִּין מִתְּמֵן מִיָּא בְּקִלִּיא:
 P-Job () מִיָּא טַאִיף לַעֲנָנִי

Who hath divided a watercourse for the overflowing of waters, or a way for the lightning of thunder; AV

Who cuts a channel for the torrents of rain, and a path for the thunderstorm, NIV

While P-Job does not appear to preserve a rendering of 38:25a, RtgJob and the Qumran text do attempt to make sense of the first portion of this verse.³¹¹ In fact, it is these translations which may shed light on the reason for the Syriac text's deficiency. As we have seen in the previous example, some have considered it likely that the Syriac translator has simply failed to translate material which presented insurmountable prob-

³¹⁰ H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 162.

³¹¹ E. Baumann, 'Verwendbarkeit der Peshita', (1900) 273 unconvincingly attributes the omission of this half-verse in P-Job to a deficient *Vorlage*.

lems of comprehension. What suggests that this may be the case here in 38:25? The main source of difficulty for the Aramaic translators seems to have been תעלה. Of its occurrences in the Hebrew bible, only here is תעלה 'conduit/watercourse' used in a figurative sense. Elsewhere it is used with reference to channels dug into the earth (e.g. irrigation canals)³¹² and the difficulty or obscurity of this usage here has led to differing treatment at the hands of the respective Aramaic translators. For its translation of תעלה, 11Q10 provides זמן 'time'. When combined with 11Q10's translation of the initial verb of the verse with שויא '(who) set/established', this modification results in a rendering which corresponds only generally to the MT and is heavily reliant on the context ('Who establishes a time for the rain')³¹³ The translation of RtgJob also shows signs that 38:25a and תעלה in particular has proven problematic. The occurrence of תעלה in the context of precipitation rather than earthly canals seemingly acts as a trigger, prompting the translator to reinterpret this unusual usage: 'Who assigns channels for the flood of the deep so that part of them should not be higher (לעילא). While RtgJob's expansion of the verse radically alters the meaning of the translation, תעלה does nevertheless receive representation in the form of לעילא.³¹⁴ In light of the above observations regarding the treatment of 38:25a in RtgJob and 11Q10, it is perhaps not surprising that some have attributed the evident lack of a rendering in the Syriac to the challenges presented in this portion of text.³¹⁵ If this is indeed the case, we see that the respective Aramaic versions have resorted to different approaches when encountering the same textual 'problem'. 11Q10 has opted to provide a divergent translation which involves substitutions based on the context. RtgJob supplies equivalents for each element of the Hebrew

³¹² See e.g. Ezek 31:4; 2 Kgs. 18:17; Is. 36:2; 1K 18:32, 35, 38.

³¹³ F. Martinez *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 11*, 154 suggest the possibility that the translator has modified his translation as a result of an objection to the Hebrew, however what this objection might be is not clarified.

³¹⁴ This correspondence is suggested both by the fact that תעלה and לעילא are apparently related to עלה and by the inclusion of לעילא in 38:25 T2 which otherwise bears little resemblance to T1. See C. Mangan, *The Targum of Job*, 85.

³¹⁵ M.P. Weitzman, 'The Interpretive Character', 393.

Qumran translator's own apparent treatment of the element in question. 11Q10 prefixes its rendering of 'kings' (מלכין) with ל which serves to mark it as the object.³¹⁹ It seems that both Aramaic translators have erroneously read the preposition as the direct object marker, and, while the Qumran translator has provided a substitution the Syriac translator has omitted a representation of it in his rendering. Unlike his counterparts, the translator of RtgJob is not fooled by the ambiguity of the Hebrew form and appropriately translates with עִם.³²⁰

In P-Job's version of 37:17 it is a pronoun—more specifically a relative pronoun—which seems to prove problematic for the Syriac translator.

37:17 אֲשֶׁר-בְּגָדָיִךְ חֲמִים בְּהִשְׁקֵט אֶרֶץ מִדְּרוֹם:

11Q10 ב[רִיל דִּי לְבוּשְׁךְ

RtgJob דִּי לְבוּשְׁךְ שְׁחִינִן כִּד מְשַׁדִּיךְ אֶרְעָא מִדְּרֹמָא:

P-Job () (ܠܒܝܫܬܝܚܝܐ ܚܡܝܡ ܒܝܫܩܬܐ ܐܪܥܝܡܝܬܐ ܡܝܕܪܝܡܐ).

you whose garments are hot when the earth is still because of the south wind? RSV

Driver and Gray assess the Hebrew construction at the beginning of Job 37:17 as '...a pronoun of the 2nd person being the supplement of אֲשֶׁר'.³²¹ While this understanding and the resulting translation ('you whose garments...') is reflected in the English translation adopted by the RSV, other interpretations are possible.³²² Whatever the correct under-

³¹⁹ M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 188; *ATQ*, 51; F. Martinez *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 11*, 141; Other examples of 11Q10's use of *lamedh* to mark the object include 29:12, 40:6 and probably 32:12.

³²⁰ Ambiguity may also be the cause of the omission of a suffix in P-Job's translation of MT חֲקִי at 38:10. The form is difficult and assessments of the significance of the final *yodh* have varied. (See M. Pope, *Job*, 294 and S.R. Driver and G.B. Gray, *The Book of Job* (II), 300). A difficulty with the text may also be behind the omission of a suffix in 34:29. There, in struggling to come to grips with an awkward Hebrew text, (מִי יִשְׁוֹרְגֵנִי וְעַל-גִּוִּי וְעַל-אֲדָמָה יִחַד:) the Syriac translator has apparently opted to omit the 3rd masc. sg. suffix on the verbal form (יִשְׁוֹרְגֵנִי) as part of his restructured translation: (ܡܝܢ ܕܝܫܘܪܓܝܢܝ ܐܡܝܠܐ ܐܪܥܐ ܐܡܝܬܐ).

³²¹ S.R. Driver and G.B. Gray, *The Book of Job* (II), 294 support this understanding by referring to a similar construction in Hos. 14:4.

³²² It may be that the pronoun here is to be understood as 'dann, wenn' as suggested by B. Duhm, *Das*

Although the Aramaic versions' treatment of Job 37:12 has already been discussed in connection with 11Q10's omission of אֶרְצָה, here our focus is בְּתַחְבּוּלֵי־יָוִי³²⁷—a phrase at the very heart of a passage which has clearly proven challenging for its Aramaic translators. The greatest modification of the passage is wrought by the Qumran translator whose Aramaic rendering of v.12a as a whole is so unlike the Hebrew that it can only be described as a paraphrase: 'And he says, let them hear (i.e., obey) him and they go...'.³²⁸ Both P-Job and RtgJob's translations are formally closer to the Hebrew in the sense that they tend to more faithfully represent each element of the source text in translation. Although RtgJob's interpretation of the verse is perhaps at variance with modern understandings of verse 12a,³²⁹ the targumist's rendering of בְּתַחְבּוּלֵי־יָוִי with בַּחֲכַמְתִּיהָ formally preserves each element of the Hebrew text.³³⁰ The Syriac translator seems also to have attempted to render the Hebrew text to the best of his ability but his version differs from the targumist in that the Peshitta shows a transposition of the infinitive phrase (לַחֲבֹר) to a location preceding the rendering of בְּתַחְבּוּלֵי־יָוִי.³³¹ Alongside, and no doubt related to, this restructuring, P-Job seems to have understood the basic meaning of the difficult Hebrew בְּתַחְבּוּלֵי־יָוִי but has included neither the prefixed preposition nor the suffix in his Syriac translation (ܡܫܬܒܬܐ 'reasonings, intentions, thoughts'). Indeed the Aramaic versions' treatment of לַפְעֻלָּם also shows signs of considerable

³²⁷ Qere: בתחבולתיו Ketib: בתחבולתו.

³²⁸ M. Pope, *Job*, 283 makes a valiant effort to explain 11Q10's interpretation, suggesting for instance that 11Q10 אֶרְצָה represents a reading of MT מִתְהַלֵּךְ as

³²⁹ RtgJob's rendering of מְסֻבּוֹת with תּוֹסַקְפָתָא 'destinies' may suggest that the translator has understood this Hebrew lexeme as related to נִסְבָּה 2 Chron 10:15 or סִבָּה 1Kings 12:15 ('turn of affairs').

³³⁰ The translator of RtgJob appears to have had some sense of the meaning of the Hebrew but perhaps has opted for the rendering 'with his wisdom' under the influence of this stock expression which appears frequently in the Hebrew Bible. See for instance: Prov 3:19, 24:3, 28:26, 31:26. An alternative RtgJob tradition found in T2 renders the Hebrew here with באפותיקוהי 'by his pledges' (apparently derived from חָבַל 'to bind, pledge'). It is also possible to read with C. Mangan, *The Targum of Job*, 51 'store-houses' the Greek loan words being indistinguishable in unvocalised Aramaic script. See also Sokoloff, M *A Dictionary of Byzantine Aramaic*.... The important point here is that both T1 and T2 preserve equivalents for each element of the Hebrew.

³³¹ For an assessment of this restructuring of the word order see chapter 7.

modification.³³² The Qumran translator appears to have understood the Hebrew as a substantive לעבדיהון 'their work'. While P-Job has understood correctly that the Hebrew form is in this case a verbal form לעבד 'to do, perform', the 3rd masc. pl. suffix has nevertheless been omitted by the translator because of a failure to recognise the antecedent 'clouds' in the preceding verse.³³³ RtgJob (T1) through the use of an expansion manages to represent both of these grammatical alternatives. לאצלחא פלחי בארעא בעובדיהון 'to make the workers do well (i.e., prosper) on the earth in *their deeds*.' It seems that the former element of RtgJob's version provides a verbal interpretation of the Hebrew while the latter supplies the interpretation of the Hebrew as a substantive. Here we see then another example of the Aramaic versions attempting to come to grips with a challenging text, but doing so by very different means. In P-Job's case the process of making sense of the text has involved the Syriac translator's omission of both prepositional and pronominal elements in his rendering. The above example clearly suggests that the Peshitta of Job, like the Qumran translation, displays evidence that certain elements may be omitted in translation not primarily because they themselves have been perceived as problematic but because the translator's understanding or modification of the surrounding co-text or verse as a whole has rendered them unnecessary or inappropriate.

24:24 רֹמוּ מַעַט וְאֵינָנוּ וְהִמָּכּוּ כָּכָל יִקְפָּצוּן וְכָרָאשׁ שְׂבַלֶּת יִמָּלוּ:

[... והתכ] פִּפּוּ כִּיבֹלָא יתק*פ*צון א[ו ...] 11Q10

(a) RtgJob זקופו כזעיר וליתוהי חייבא ואתמכינו והיך כל
דעברו אתפרעו במיא רתיחין קלקילו במיא רתיחין
טפין דמדיינין והיך ריששובלא יתמוללון:

³³² Although an infinitival form here ('for their doing') פעלם 'their work, deeds' appears as a suffixed noun at Job 36:9 and 24:5.

³³³ E. Dhorme, *A Commentary on the Book of Job*, 565-6 suggests that the third pl. suffix refers to both thunder and lightning (i.e., a plurality of meteorological phenomena?). M. Pope, *Job*, 283 admits that gender and number are greatly confused in this verse, but prefers to read the 3rd masc. pl. suffixes in v.12b as emphatic particles.

dered accordingly מִמֶּנּוּ 'from before'. Although the Qumran text's divergence in rendering מִלְפָּנָיו has not resulted in the exclusion of any other textual element, we see that P-Job's erroneous reading of the form as a compound preposition has not only obscured the comparative function of מִן, it also renders any possible prepositional function of the expected translation מִן redundant. Here we see that an element of the Hebrew text has gone missing in the Syriac translation purely as a result of the 'knock-on' effect of a prior (and, in this case, erroneous) modification.

35:13 אֶת־שׁוֹא לֹא־יִשְׁמַע אֱלֹהִים וְשָׂדֵי לֹא יִשׁוּרְנָה:

11Q10 אַרְו שׁוֹא יִשׁ[מַע...] [וְחַב/וֹדַח] לֹא 9, xxvi [לֹא] יִצְתַּנָּה

RtgJob לַחֲוֹד שְׁקִרָא לֹא יִשְׁמַע אֱלֹהִים וְשָׂדֵי לֹא יִסְכְּנָה:

P-Job () שׁוֹמַר לֹא יִשְׁמַע אֱלֹהִים אִם לֹא אֱלֹהִים מַחֲבֵה לֹא

Surely God does not hear an empty cry, nor does the Almighty regard it. RSV

All three Aramaic versions have included a representation of MT שׁוֹא, with the Qumran translator and the Rabbinic targumist supplying שׁוֹא 'vanity' and שְׁקִרָא 'false-hood' respectively. The Syriac translator's rendering of this Hebrew noun makes use of the Syriac adverb שׁוֹמַר 'vainly, in vain' despite showing signs elsewhere of familiarity with the nominal form attested here in RtgJob.³³⁸ Our focus here, however, is limited to the particle which precedes this form (אֶת־שׁוֹא) and more particularly the treatment of this particle by the respective Aramaic translators. Although אֶת serves a variety of functions, the Aramaic versions provide some evidence which suggests that its variable role has been more or less comprehended.³³⁹ Here however, while RtgJob provides an

³³⁸ At 31:5 the MT אֶת־הַלֵּלְתִּי עִם־שׁוֹא is translated by the Syriac translator with .ܫܠܚܐ ܡܢ ܡܢܐ. The customary Hebrew adverbial expression 'vainly' requires a prefixed *lamedh* (לְשׁוֹא) (E.g. Je 2:30, 4:30, 6:29 etc.).

³³⁹ At 33:8 where this same Hebrew lexeme appears similarly at the beginning of the verse, the translators of 11Q10, P-Job and RtgJob render with seemingly proximate equivalents בְּרִם/בְּרִם/וְהָךְ.

expected equivalent (לְחֹדֶר 'only, singly') both 11Q10 and P-Job display a different treatment of the particle. The Qumran translation provides אֲרִי, a form which serves to represent both 'because' and 'behold' in 11Q10³⁴⁰, and here, commentators are divided as to which meaning has been intended by the translator.³⁴¹ When we turn to examine the Syriac translator's treatment it is clear that the particle has for some reason not received representation in the Peshitta. The most likely explanation is to be found in the translator's rendering of the last portion of the preceding verse (35:12). G. Rignell has suggested that the Syriac translator has understood the causal clause of v.12 (שָׁם יִצְעָקוּ וְלֹא יַעֲנֶה מִפְּנֵי גִּאְוֹן רָעִים) 'There they cry out, but he does not answer, **because of the pride of the wicked**'...) not as the conclusion to verse 12, as is the case in the MT, but rather as syntactically related to the following verse 13.³⁴² In light of this suggestion it is not difficult to understand why the Syriac translator has opted to omit the Hebrew particle. In each of the six other instances in Job where this particle is found at the beginning of a verse, the translator of P-Job provides an equivalent, but in this case the alternate division of vv 12 and 13 results in a Syriac translation which has apparently left no room for an equivalent for this particle, whether it functions restrictively or as-severatively.³⁴³ Here again, it seems to be a separate but related adjustment which has led to the omission of an element in the Syriac translation of Job.

³⁴⁰ For further discussion of this form in 11Q10 and an analysis of its development in Aramaic see M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 110.

³⁴¹ Although it is understood as 'behold' by ATQ, 51 and F. Martinez *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 11*, 139, the occurrence of כִּי-שָׁוְיָא 'for vanity...' at the beginning of 15:31b might lend support to the reading of 'because' adopted by the editors, p. 63 and M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 136.

³⁴² G. Rignell, *The Peshitta to the Book of Job*, 294.

³⁴³ While this may suggest that 11Q10's rendering אֲרִי should be understood as 'because' the fragmentary remains of the rest of the line provide little corroboration.

34:33 תַּמְעַמְךָ יִשְׁלַמְנָה כִּי־מֵאִסְתָּ כִּי־אַתָּה תִּבְחָר וְלֹא־אֲנִי, וּמָה־יִדְעַתָּ דְבָר:

11Q10 אַרְו מ[...] xxv, 9 [תב]חר ולא אנה [...]

RtgJob האִיפְשֵׁר/הַאוֹשֵׁר דַּמְעַמְךָ יִשְׁלַמְנָה אַרְוֹ אַנְתָּ

תתרעי ולא אנא ומה דידעת מליל:

P-Job (____) אִהֲב לֹא אִהֲשֵׁב לְחַלְלִי לִי פִלְגִּימָא בִּלְדִּימָא.
אִנְסָא לְגַז אִלְכַּמְנָס חֲלָא אִנְסָא. חֲמִינָא דִּיגִב אִנְסָא חֲלָא.

Will he then make requital to suit you, because you reject it? For you must choose, and not I; therefore declare what you know. RSV

In the RSV's English translation of Job 34:33, the sentence is marked as a general interrogative through an inversion transformation (He will > Will he?). While the targumist also follows the MT in marking the Aramaic sentence as interrogative, his approach of providing האִיפְשֵׁר is more akin to its Semitic cognate Hebrew than to the more distantly related English.³⁴⁴ Neither the Qumran or Syriac translator, however, appear to have taken account of the interrogative *heh* in their renderings. In 11Q10 אַרְו may represent 'behold' or 'because/for',³⁴⁵ and it seems clear that the translator of 11Q10 provides a statement of some sort where we find a rhetorical question in the MT.³⁴⁶ Although the loss of the interrogative sense of the verse has not resulted in a loss of tex-

³⁴⁴ Jastrow's (M. Jastrow, *Dictionary of Targumim...*) entry for this lexeme (and its variant) suggests the meaning, 'it is possible' but the usage within the RtgJob is complex. For the verses which correspond to those preserved in 11Q10, אִיפְשֵׁר is found pre-fixed with Aram. interrogative *he* (21:22, 38:31, 38:33, 39:09) as an equivalent for Heb interrog. *he*. In other verses, it stands alone in representing the Hebrew question indicator. (18:4; 39:11,20, 40:26, 28, 40:31). In a large number of locations variation in the manuscripts preserve both readings (34:33, 38:34, 39:01,10; 39:26; 40:27,29) (Locations where Aramaic interrogative *he* is preserved as an equivalent for its Hebrew cognate: 34:31, 38:33, 39:20). As its relationship to the Aramaic cognate of interrog. *he* in rendering the Hebrew form is unclear, it is difficult to say at what stage, or to what extent אִיפְשֵׁר should be understood as an intentional deviation from the meaning of the Hebrew question indicator as opposed to merely a reflection of the stylistic preference of Aramaic.

³⁴⁵ 'Behold' is preferred by ATQ, 49; F. Martinez *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 11*, 137 while J. Fitzmyer, and D.J. Harrington, (eds.) *A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts*, 33; M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 77 opt for 'because'.

³⁴⁶ As is suggested by F. Martinez *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 11*, 137.

tual elements in the Qumran translation, in the Syriac version, the translator not only fails to preserve the question but also opts not to supply a formal equivalent for the interrogative marker. According to H. Szpek, the reason for this failure may be that the translator of P-Job does not follow the verse division of the MT in vv 32 and 33, choosing instead to include the rendering of לֹא אֶסִּיף (ܠܐ ܐܝܫܝܦ) as part of its translation of verse 33 here rather than with verse 32.³⁴⁷ According to his redivision of the textual material in verses 32 and 33, it appears that the Syriac translator chose to transform the interrogative of the Hebrew into a declarative in Syriac.³⁴⁸

The above example shows that a prior modification (in this case redivision) may lead to the Syriac translator's failure to represent the interrogative *heh* (with a resulting 'loss' of the question in the Syriac text). A glance at the English translation's treatment of the interrogative through inversion, however, suggests that the representation of the interrogative is, in some translation situations, a function of the relation between a given target language and the Hebrew formulation. Szpek has shown that in the Syriac version of Job the most frequent (although not exclusive) approach to representing the interrogative *heh* of the Hebrew is in fact *non-representation* or Ø.³⁴⁹ We see this exemplified in P-Job's translation of Job 38:28:

38:28 הֲיֵשׁ-לְמָטָר אָב אֹיֵב הוֹלִיד אֶגְלֵי-טָל:
 11Q10 הַאִתִּי לַמָּטָרָא אָב אֹיֵב מִן יֵלֵד [ע]נֵי טָלָא
 RtgJob הַאִתִּי לַמָּטָרָא אָב/אִיבָא אֹיֵב מִן אוֹלִיד רִסִּסִּי טָלָא:
 P-Job () ܐܒܐ ܠܡܬܪܐ ܐܝܒܐ ܐܝܬܐ ܡܢ ܐܘܠܝܕ ܐܝܬܐ ܢܡܠܚܐܐ.
 Has the rain a father, or who has begotten the drops of dew? NRSV

³⁴⁷ H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 114 n. 22 suggests that this redivision has occurred due to the ambiguity of the Hebrew text and/or an error on the part of the translator.

³⁴⁸ H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 205.

³⁴⁹ H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 204 This is not to say that the interrogative sense of a sentence is lost as was the case in 34:33, but simply that often this interrogative sense is discernible to us only through an analysis of the context and whatever guidance may be provided by the Hebrew source text. In accented texts of course (J.B. Segal *The Diacritical Point...*, p. 68), an interrogative intonation was marked explicitly by the scribe by the placing of the point at the beginning of the word. See also T. Nöldeke, *Kurzgefasste Syrische Grammatik*, § 331 for further discussion of the interrogative in Syriac.

Here we see that the English translator again provides an inverted word order to form the interrogative and the translators of 11Q10 and RtgJob are able to represent the interrogative *heh* with similar markers in their respective Aramaic renderings. The Syriac translation on the other hand does not formally differentiate the interrogative from a declarative clause. Without formal differentiation it may be asked how it is possible to know that the Syriac's *non-representation* has not resulted in the loss of the question. The answer is to be found in P-Job's rendering of 38:28b where the latter part of the disjunctive question is preserved ܐܪܡܐ ܡܢ ܕܡܠܟܐ 'or who has begotten the drops?' In this case, the context clearly indicates that 38:28a, while not marked as interrogative, must nevertheless be understood in this manner.³⁵⁰

P-Job's frequent omission or non-representation of the Hebrew interrogative *heh* due to the language difference between Hebrew and Syriac brings us again to a series of omissions which, as was the case with the Qumran translation, seem to fall somewhere on the linguistic-stylistic continuum in terms of their underlying cause. As was the case with 11Q10, it is not always easy to draw a hard and fast line between linguistic necessity and stylistic nicety when we come to assess the Syriac translator's omission of a given element. Certain trends with regard to P-Job's rationale for omitting elements in translation may nevertheless be discerned in the examples which follow.

At 30:16, it is a preposition which has been omitted by the Syriac translator:

30:16 ܐܘܢܐ ܥܠ ܬܫܬܦܢ ܢܦܫܝ ܝܥܝܢܝ ܝܡܝ-ܥܝܢܝ:

11Q10 ܐܘܢܐ ܥܠ ܬܫܬܦܢ ܢܦܫܝ ܝܥܝܢܝ ܝܡܝ-ܥܝܢܝ [ܝܡܝܢ ܬܫܒ*ܪ*ܐ ܝܥܝܢܝ] xvi, 6

RtgJob ܐܘܢܐ ܥܠ ܬܫܬܦܢ ܢܦܫܝ ܝܥܝܢܝ ܝܡܝ-ܥܝܢܝ:

P-Job ܐܘܢܐ ܥܠ ܬܫܬܦܢ ܢܦܫܝ ܝܥܝܢܝ ܝܡܝ-ܥܝܢܝ () ܐܘܢܐ ܥܠ ܬܫܬܦܢ ܢܦܫܝ ܝܥܝܢܝ ܝܡܝ-ܥܝܢܝ.

And now my life ebbs away () ; days of suffering grip me. NIV

And now my soul is poured out upon me; the days of affliction have taken hold upon me. AV

³⁵⁰ Other instances of the Ø representation of the interrogative *heh* in P-Job are to be found at 21:22, 38:12, 39:20, 26. For a full discussion of P-Job's treatment of the interrogative and examples which lie outside the material covered by all three Aramaic versions of Job, see H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 203-14 (esp. 211 n. 19).

Driver and Gray seem correct to insist that the Hebrew suffixed preposition (עָלַי) belongs to the idiomatic construction here provided in the Hebrew text.³⁵¹ The idiomatic idea of the soul (נַפֶּשׁ) being poured out (שָׁפַךְ) is seen elsewhere in the Tanakh, but in 1 Sam. 1:15 where it is also met, the construction is slightly different from the one encountered here. There we see that וַאֲשַׁפֶּךְ אֶת-נַפְשִׁי לִפְנֵי יְהוָה: '...and I pour out my soul before the LORD.' is rendered by the Syriac translator in a straightforward manner: ܠܝܢܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢܐ ܕܢܦܫܐ ܕܝܬܝܢܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ. ('I pour/cast out my soul before the LORD'). In the present context, however, the form of the idiom is apparently complicated for the translator by the presence of עָלַי. Both the Rabbinic targumist and the Qumran translator are able to preserve their renderings of this prepositional element of the Hebrew, although their translations of the following verb suggest a certain degree of accommodation with regard to their treatment of this idiom.³⁵² In the case of P-Job, however, we see that עָלַי does not receive any explicit representation (ܕܡܝܢܐ ܕܢܦܫܐ) in the Syriac rendering. The other Aramaic versions' treatment of this idiom seem to suggest that it is a linguistic or stylistic adaptation of the Hebrew which is the cause of this omission,³⁵³ but for substantial proof of this suspicion it is necessary to turn to the Peshitta rendering of Psalm 42:5—the only other place in the Hebrew Bible where this idiom is provided (complete

³⁵¹ S.R. Driver and G.B. Gray, *The Book of Job* (II), 216 respond to earlier commentators who argued for the omission of עָלַי (see for instance B. Duhm, *Das Buch Hiob*, 143).

³⁵² M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 125 notes that אָשַׁךְ (hithpe.) is found in EA (Padua Papyrus I, recto 1.7) with the meaning 'to be confounded, to be angry'. The fragmentary state of the Qumran text means that it is unclear whether or not it has preserved an equivalent for נַפֶּשׁ but the inflection of the verb (probably 3rd f. sg impf.) gives little reason to doubt its original inclusion. RtgJob's rendering מַצְטַעֵרָא '[my soul] is vexed/troubled' apparently represents a similar type of adjustment. At TgPsalms 42:5 (ed. de Lagarde) the translator's modification of the idiom (וַאֲשַׁךְ עָלַי רַעְיוֹנֵי נַפְשִׁי) takes the form of an addition 'ideas/thoughts of my heart' rather than a divergent rendering of the verb (which is the same as that provided by 11Q10 here).

³⁵³ H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 163 n.83 erroneously includes this modification along with P-Job's omission of one element of a Hebrew compound preposition in Syriac. A. Mandl, *Die Peschitta zum Hiob*, 26 notes its omission without comment while E. Baumann, 'Verwendbarkeit der Peshita', (1900) 192 comments ambiguously 'עָלַי war P unbequem.'

with suffixed preposition).³⁵⁴ There we see that this same idiom (וַאֲשַׁפְּכָה עָלַי נַפְשִׁי [Qal]) is rendered in a similar way with P-Job utilising the same root ܐܠܦ 'to be agitated' and omitting the prepositional phrase, as is the case here.³⁵⁵ While the meaning of the idiom is preserved to a large extent by the Syriac expression, the prepositional phrase (עָלַי) is a casualty of the process by which the translator provides his Syriac readers with a linguistically intelligible and acceptable text. It is perhaps not surprising that at least one representative of the English translation tradition (NIV) also shows a willingness to dispense with a formal rendering of the Hebrew in order to achieve a more idiomatic English translation.³⁵⁶

While the preceding modification might be best understood as linguistically required by the difference between the source language (Hebrew) and the Syriac target language, the second example, drawn from the Syriac version of 36:9, is an example of an omission which seems to have arisen primarily as a result of the stylistic preference of the translator.

36:9 וַיִּגֵּד לָהֶם פְּעָלָם וּפְשָׁעֵיהֶם כִּי יִתְגַּבְּרוּ:

11Q10 ויחוא לה*ו*ין עבדיהון [...] הון ארו התרוממו

RtgJob וחוי להון עובדיהון ומרדיהון ארום יתגברו:

P-Job ܡܢܬܐ () ܐܢܬܐ ܒܚܝܬܐ ܡܥܬܠܐܬܐ ܒܠ ܕܐܠܥܒܐܬܐ.

he tells () them what they have done—that they have sinned arrogantly. NIV

then he declares to them their work and their transgressions, that they are behaving arrogantly. RSV

³⁵⁴ R. Gordis, *The Book of Job*, 334 notes that other appearances in the Hebrew Bible suggest that this verb may be used idiomatically with reference to grief (1Sam 1:15) or weakness (Lam 2:12, 4:1).

³⁵⁵ For Syriac text see *Vetus Testamentum Syriace: Psalms* Part II, fasc. 3 (ed. D.M. Walter) Brill, 1980.

³⁵⁶ While failing to represent the form of the original in this respect, 'my soul ebbs away' (NIV) retains a verb ('to ebb') that nevertheless preserves the aspect of liquidity—an integral element in the Hebrew figure 'to pour'.

While both the English RSV, and the Qumran and targumic versions preserve the MT prepositional phrase לָהֶם 'to them' in their translations, P-Job supplies only the 3rd masc. pl. enclitic pronoun in conjunction with ܐܬܬܐܢܐ.³⁵⁷ P-Job's use of the enclitic pronoun to represent the direct object (3 m pl.: ܐܬܬܐܢܐ) in place of the MT prepositional phrase is, it would seem, a reflection of the linguistic-stylistic difference between Syriac and Hebrew. In P-Job where a pronominal suffix is attached to the preposition ܠ in conjunction with the Hebrew verb נָגַד 'to tell' the translator usually renders with an objective suffix.³⁵⁸ However, the Syriac translator's rendering of Job 33:23: יִשְׁרֹף לְאֶדָּם לְהַגִּיד לָהֶם with ܡܬܝܬܝܢ ܐܬܬܐܢܐ ܐܬܬܐܢܐ shows that the translator may on occasion choose to preserve an equivalent of the *lamedh* which appears in the Hebrew. The translators of the NIV also provide an English rendering which dispenses with the prepositional phrase and makes use of the direct object.³⁵⁹ It appears then that unlike the other Aramaic versions which preserve an equivalent of the *lamedh*, P-Job lacks a representation of the preposition due to the translator's linguistic-stylistic preference for the direct object construction.

Some of the difficulties involved in assessing linguistic-stylistic causes for omission are well illustrated by the following example drawn from P-Job 33:28.

³⁵⁷ Both 11Q10 and P-Job 'modify' the tense of the Hebrew consecutive imperfect by providing imperfect forms in Aramaic (ܐܬܬܐܢܐ) and Syriac (ܐܬܬܐܢܐ). The moribundity of the consecutive imperfect in these phases of Aramaic (although for Old Aramaic see V. Sasson, 'Some observations on the use and original purpose of the *waw* consecutive in Old Aramaic and Biblical Hebrew' *VT* 47 (1997) 111-127) means that the imperfect forms here, while formally closer to the Hebrew, do in fact represent a divergence from the MT (H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 83 n.54). This modification stems from the translators' awareness that 36:9 stands as an apodosis clause to the protasis clause in 36:8 which makes use of participial forms (If the wicked are bound...). If the protasis contains a non-perfective verb form, the expected form in the apodosis would be a consecutive perfect form rather than a consecutive imperfect. (B. Waltke and M. O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990) § 38.2) The translators have maintained a non-perfective tense in their translation of this verse.

³⁵⁸ E.g. 1:15, 16, 19; 12:7. At 11:6 the rendering of the Hebrew imperfect with a Syriac participle precludes the use of an objective pronominal suffix. While the prepositional use of *lamedh* (to mark the indirect object) is most common with this Hebrew verb, it may on occasion take a direct object (Jb 17:5, 31:37).

³⁵⁹ An analogy to the Syriac ܐܬܬܐܢܐ in P-Job may be found in a common English equivalent: 'to show'. Both 'I will show it to him' and 'I will show him it' constitute English constructions which would be acceptable to some (but perhaps not all) native English speakers.

33:28 פְּדָה *נִפְשִׁי *נִפְשׁוֹ מֵעֶבֶר בְּשַׁחַת *יְחִיִּי בְּאֹר תִּרְאָה:

11Q10 פר'ק [...] ה' 7 xxiii, בנהור תחזא

RtgJob פרק נפשיה מן למעב {ר} «ר» בזיני קרביה ונשמתי מן נהורא
מעליא תחמי:

P-Job פֹּדֶם נַפְשִׁי מִן אֶבְרָה דְּעִבְרָה. הַנֶּפֶשׁ לְעֵלָּא () נִשְׁמָתָהּ.

He has redeemed my soul from going down into the Pit, and my life shall see ()the light.' RSV

While the Qumran translation supplies the Aramaic cognate of the Hebrew preposition ב where it appears in the text before אֹר, the translator responsible for RtgJob provides an alternate preposition מן to account for this element of his source text.³⁶⁰ The Syriac translator, however, fails to provide any explicit representation of ב in the Peshitta of Job, leaving the direct object unmarked. The English translation's comparable omission of this element at least suggests the possibility that it may be a difference of language (source vs. target) which has led to the Syriac translator's adaptation of the text. This suggestion is made difficult, however, by other renderings of this Hebrew construction ב + ראה. The verb ראה, as with other Hebrew verbs of sense perception may take ב.³⁶¹ The Hebrew text of Job, however, shows this verb both with ב- (3:9: (וְאֵל־יִרְאָה בְּעֵפְפִי-שָׁחַר: (אִם-אֶרְאָה אֹר 31:26) and without (3:9 and other instances where ראה takes ב- the Syriac translator reproduces the preposition in his Syriac text (e.g., (נִשָּׂא בְּלִמְ צִיָּה)³⁶² If at other locations, the Syriac translator of Job has seen fit to follow the Hebrew in rendering the preposition, we are entitled to ask why he has not done so here. It is difficult to be certain about the cause of such variation, but it is perhaps worth noting that not only is the preposition omitted but the Syriac translation's

³⁶⁰ It should be noted however that ב is also attested in some MSS despite the fact that several witnesses including Stec's Base text (Urbiniati) provide מן 'from' in place of Heb. ב-.

³⁶¹ See F. Brown, S.R. Driver, C.A. Briggs, *Brown-Driver-Briggs-Gesenius Hebrew Lexicon* (1906 [repr. Hendrickson, 1979] [hereafter *BDB*] 90 iv.d and for the preposition in relation to ראה see KB³, ראה (7).

While the targum translator (מן ידך) supplies an uncontracted form in his rendering of the Hebrew (מִיָּדְךָ), both the targumist's rendering and that of his Qumran counterpart (מִיָּדְךָ) provide full representation of the formal features of the Hebrew text. The Syriac translator's version of 35:7b on the other hand, not only diverges from the source text in terms of word order, but also in its failure to represent all the elements of the Hebrew text.³⁶⁸ As we have already seen with regard to the Qumran translation, although the Syriac מִיָּדְךָ 'from you' fulfils the role of the Hebrew מִיָּדְךָ 'from your hand' and constitutes a semantic substitution, in terms of a formal analysis, the retention of the preposition and the 2nd masc. sg. suffix highlights the Syriac translator's omission of an equivalent for יד.³⁶⁹ The fact that the Syriac translation preserves an equivalent for this noun where it appears elsewhere following מִן³⁷⁰ raises the question as to why the translator has passed over it here in 35:7. Because the Hebrew expression מִן יד 'from the hand' is used virtually interchangeably with מִן 'from' in a variety of idiomatic Hebrew contexts,³⁷¹ 'to take/receive from the hand' has obviously been perceived by the Syriac translator as unnecessarily elaborate language and the resulting Syriac translation has been preferred (מִיָּד 'from you').³⁷² The suggestion that the Syriac translator's provision of מִיָּד here constitutes an idiomatic adjustment would seem to receive support from the observation that, at Job 22:8b, where the translator also diverges from the Hebrew text (וַיִּשְׁאוּ פָנִים יֵשֶׁב בָּהּ) the Syriac translator falls back on the identical construction (ܡܢ ܡܠܚܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܡܢ ܡܢܐ 'and a man of force takes it from him')—namely, a suffixed preposition in conjunction with this same verb. This would suggest that מִיָּד 'from you' has been preferred here and יד omitted due to stylistic

³⁶⁸ The parallel word order (prepositional phrase in final position) of the English and Syriac renderings here in 35:7 is, as we will see, a foreshadowing of similar agreements discussed in chapter 7.

³⁶⁹ An analogous example from 11Q10 (involving לִי 'me' for בְּשָׁרִי 'my flesh') has been discussed above in chapter 2 (21:26).

³⁷⁰ See for instance 5:15, 5:20, 6:23 (2x) 10:7 and 27:22.

³⁷¹ With regard to לָקַח specifically, examples may be found at: Nu. 21:26; 1 Sam 12:3,4; 1 Kgs 11:34, 35; 2 Kgs 13:25).

³⁷² See *BDB*, יד 5 (g) for other examples of this idiomatic use of יד.

‘from you’ has been preferred here and יד omitted due to stylistic preference—the element in the Hebrew text being omitted by the Syriac translator on account of his desire to produce a translation which is idiomatic and stylistically acceptable.

39:24b וְלֹא-יֵאָמֵין כִּי-קוֹל שׁוֹפָר: 39:25 בְּדִי שֹׁפֵר יֹאמֵר הָאֵחָ ...

ולקל קרנא יאמר האח (no translation) 11Q10

ולא ידימן ארום קל שופרא: במסת שופרא יימר חדווא RtgJob

P-Job מלא דגל מלא דמגל 39:25 במלא (____) אמו אגל ...

39:24 he cannot stand still at the sound of the trumpet. 39:25 When the trumpet sounds, he says Aha! RSV

39:24 ;he holds not back at the sound of the trumpet, 39:25 but at each (____) blast he cries, 'Aha!' NAB

Beginning in verse 19 of chapter 39, the Hebrew poet depicts in some detail the terrifying majesty of a horse going into battle. Here in verse 24b, the *shofar* is sounded, presumably to signal the joining of the battle. Although, as we have discussed in the preceding chapter, the Qumran translation does not appear to have included a translation of 39:24, both the targum and the Peshitta do represent this verse in their renderings. While their treatment of the verb phrase (וְלֹא-יֵאָמֵין) differs,³⁷³ these two translations nevertheless provide basically similar representations of the final phrase of the verse (קוֹל שׁוֹפָר) ‘the sound of the *shofar*’. The targumist utilises the Hebrew loan-word שופרא in its translation, while the Qumran translator makes use in verse 25, of the same Aramaic noun קרנא which appears in P-Job. As Sokoloff notes, later Jewish Aramaic dialects import this Aramaic representation (שופרא) of the Hebrew term שֹׁפֵר directly

³⁷³For the translation of the difficult MT לֹא-יֵאָמֵין כִּי RtgJob provides an interpretation לֹא ידימן ‘he does not stand still’ which is also adopted by various modern translations (e.g. RSV) and commentators (See E. Dhorme, *A Commentary on the Book of Job*, 610 and R. Gordis, *The Book of Job*, 462). P-Job on the other hand appears to have resorted again to a contextual translation perhaps indicating that the Hebrew has not been clearly understood. The translator draws on the theme of the courage of the horse (v.22) in rendering מלא דגל מלא דמגל ‘and he doesn’t fear...’

into their translations and reserve קרנא for referring to the horn of an animal.³⁷⁴ Tuinstra advances the suggestion that the Qumran translator has avoided providing שופרא here because this instrument (and therefore the Hebrew term) was utilised in the religious context within which the translator worked, and thus being sacred, was not appropriate for the translation of a description of cavalry in a profane war.³⁷⁵ Verse 25 of the Hebrew continues the description, repeating as it does so, the Hebrew term encountered at the end of v.24 (שופר). While some scholars have suggested that 11Q10's rendering of MT בְּדִי שֹׁפָר is possibly a telescoped rendering of the end of verse 24 and the beginning of verse 25,³⁷⁶ both the translations of 11Q10 לקל קרנא 'at the sound of the horn' and P-Job במל parallel Gordis' suggestion that בְּדִי שֹׁפָר at the beginning of verse 25 may be understood as: 'At the distant sound of the *shofar*'.³⁷⁷ Whereas both the targumist (במסת שופרא) and the Qumran translator (לקל קרנא) supply equivalents for both elements of בְּדִי שֹׁפָר, P-Job's version of 39:24-25a appears to lack an element corresponding to שֹׁפָר. It seems that the Syriac translator has assumed that his reader will not need reminding that it is the *shofar* which is responsible for the sound at the beginning of verse 25 having encountered קול שופר 'the sound of the shofar' as recently as the end of verse 24. Here then the translator has consciously or unconsciously concluded that the repetition of שֹׁפָר in close proximity is redundant and surplus to requirements according to the linguistic-stylistic constraints within which he worked. In

³⁷⁴ M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 157. In R.Hashanah. III.2 (Ib.26a) the mishnaic ruling that the שופר may be made of the horns of all animals except that of a cow is justified by the fact that the latter is properly termed a קֶרֶן. R. Jose challenges this by suggesting that all שופרים are קרנים.

³⁷⁵ E.W. Tuinstra, *Hermeneutische Aspecten*, 34. Tuinstra's reference to 1QM (War Scroll) col. III suggests that the logic of this suggestion relies on the writer's use of חצוצרה 'trumpet' rather than שופר in 1QM 3:1 ff. This suggestion while theoretically possible is essentially an argument from silence and relies on the unproven (and indeed unwarranted) assumption that the translator was in any definable sense 'sectarian'. In other words, 11Q10's non-use of שופרא may be explained equally well by the fact that the translator had no unique, technical or religious understanding of שֹׁפָר but rather that קרנא was simply the generic term used by some Aramaic translators.

³⁷⁶ See preceding discussion of 39:24-25 passage in chapter 2.

the English translation tradition we see a similar type of variation with the RSV preserving the repetition in verse 25, while the NAB chooses to treat the text in a way which shares much with the Syriac.

38:26 לְהַמְטִיר עַל-אֶרֶץ לֹא-אִישׁ מְדִבֵּר לֹא-אָדָם בֵּן:

11Q10 לְהַנְחִיחָהּ עַל אֶרֶץ xxxi,4 מְדַבֵּר דִּי-לֹא אִנְשׁ בַּהּ

RtgJob לְאַחֲתָא מִטְרָא עֲלוּי אֶרְעָא דְלִית בַּהּ גְּבַר מְדַבֵּר דְּלֹא בֶר-נִשׁ בֵּיהּ

P-Job לְחַסְמָה מַלְאָכָא בִּל אִזְדָּא דָּלָא אִנְשׁ הַמְדִּבְרָא דְלֹלָהּ מִנֵּה ()

To bring rain to no man's land, the unpeopled wilderness () NAB

to water a land where no man lives, a desert with no one in it NIV

As we have already seen in the preceding chapter, the Qumran translator has apparently seen the first of two near-synonymous phrases in this verse (לֹא-אִישׁ and לֹא-אָדָם) as superfluous with respect to the content of the verse as he construed it. The stylistic constraints within which the Qumran translator worked have apparently allowed him to omit the latter phrase (לֹא-אִישׁ) in his translation on account of its perceived redundancy. Unlike the Qumran text, the Syriac translation agrees with the MT in preserving equivalents for both of these Hebrew phrases (דָּלָהּ מִנֵּה and דָּלָהּ אִנְשׁ) as does the Rabbinic targumist. Having done so, however, the Syriac version deviates slightly from the MT in lacking the prepositional phrase בֵּן (ב + 3rd masc. sg. suffix 'in it') which appears in the MT and is preserved in the other Aramaic translations. While, in formal terms, the suffixed preposition (בֵּן) at the end of the verse appears to serve as a counter-balance to the verbal phrase of the first half of the verse (לְהַמְטִיר), in terms of conveying additional information, the lack of a corresponding prepositional phrase in the first half of the verse suggests that its contribution is negligible indeed. If the Syriac translator's omission of an equivalent for בֵּן has the incidental effect of enhancing the

³⁷⁷ Reading with R. Gordis, *The Book of Job*, 463: דִּי from Arab. *daway* 'hum, rumble, rustle'.

degree of similarity between the two halves of the verse, it is interesting to note that his counterpart in the targumic tradition also performs a ‘balancing act’, though by quite different means. In the case of the Rabbinic targumist, the lack of a corresponding prepositional phrase in the first portion of the verse (...לֹא-אִישׁ vs. לֹא-אָדָם בֵּן) has led not to an omission in the second hemi-stich but rather an addition in the first. There the targumist adds a suffixed preposition בֵּה ‘in it’ in order to make explicit what is implied by the prepositional phrase in the MT at the end of the verse.³⁷⁸ Again, as was the case with the previous example, it is the NAB English translators who parallel the Syriac’s treatment of this verse preferring an adjectival phrase to the NIV’s explicit representation of the prepositional phrase. This then appears to be another clear example of the Syriac translator’s willingness to pass over a formal representation of an element in the Hebrew text due to its perceived redundancy for a Syriac reader.

Three verses later at 38:29, the Syriac version of Job provides another example of an omission *vis-à-vis* the Hebrew text.

38:29 מִבֶּטֶן מִי יֵצֵא הַקָּרָח וְכִפֹּר שָׁמַיִם מִי יֵלְדוּ:

11Q10 וּמִן בֶּטֶן מִן נִפְקָ גְלִידָא וּשְׁקִין] 7 xxxi, מִן יֵלְדֵהּ

RtgJob מִן כְּרִיסָא דְמֵאן נִפְקָ קִרְחָא וּגְלִידָא דְשִׁמְיָא מִן יֵלִיד יִתְיָה:

P-Job מִלְּבָא מִלְּבָא מִן חֹשֶׁךְ דְּהַךְ נִפְסָ. מִסְפּוֹרָא דְצִמְרָא מִן אִמְלָא ().

Out of whose womb came the ice? And the hoary frost of heaven, who hath gendered it? ASV

From whose womb did the ice come forth, and who has given birth to () the hoarfrost of heaven? RSV

In 38:29b, the Hebrew clause includes a pronominal suffix with the verbal form יֵלְדוּ. (literally, ‘[who] has birthed it?’). Although there is nothing ungrammatical about this construction, its location in the present clause marks the 3rd masc. sg. suffixed pronoun

³⁷⁸ Interestingly, C. Mangan, *The Targum of Job*, 84 does not reflect RtgJob’s addition of this suffixed preposition in her English translation.

as *resumptive* in function. As such, this pronoun provides the reader with no new semantic information and is grammatically optional in Biblical Hebrew.³⁷⁹ Although the Aramaic dialects clearly possess the linguistic resources adequate for the representation of this construction, it is only the Rabbinic targumist and the Qumran translator who here provide the corresponding forms in their respective translations.³⁸⁰ The Syriac translator's rendering of the Hebrew clearly shows that while ילך has been translated with the cognate Syriac root, the objective pronoun suffix has not been represented.³⁸¹ While the loss of the resumptive pronoun in the Syriac version may mean a partial loss of emphasis, there is no appreciable effect in terms of the semantic content of the verse for ܡܫܬܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܫܬܪܝܢܐ, like כָּפַר שְׁמַיִם still functions as the explicitly expressed direct object. In a manner similar to previous examples, the Syriac translator has apparently considered the pronoun stylistically superfluous and omitted a rendering of it accordingly.³⁸² In the English translation tradition we see a similar variation in the approach to rendering this Hebrew clause. While the ASV preserves the resumptive pronoun, its successor, the RSV modifies the Hebrew in translation in much the same manner as the Peshitta of Job.

Although examples drawn from a variety of different passages in P-Job provide a broad cross-section of textual material in which the phenomenon of omission may be examined, the Syriac version of Job also affords us the opportunity to see the application of this translation technique in a sustained manner at the beginning of chapter 39:

³⁷⁹ B. Waltke and M. O'Connor, *Hebrew Syntax*, § 4.7 locate their discussion of the resumptive pronoun in the context of the wider treatment of the Nominative-Absolute or *casus pendens* family of constructions.

³⁸⁰ RtgJob varies in its representation of the direct object, sometimes following the Hebrew in supplying a suffixed form, at other times attaching the suffix to the *nota accusativi* ܐܢܝ. (E.g. 29:8, 30:17, 30:19, 30:27, 33:24). See M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 163 for a discussion of the one and only appearance of this form in the Qumran translation. While it occurs frequently in later Aramaic, it is interesting to note that RtgJob does not make use of it here (despite its occurrence three times in Chapter 40:1,2,6). It is unclear why, in this case, the translator of 11Q10 diverges from the normal pronominal suffix representation of the object.

³⁸¹ Both E. Baumann, 'Verwendbarkeit der Peshita', (1900) 274 and G. Rignell, *The Peshitta to the Book of Job*, 325 note this omission without advancing any suggestions as to how it might be explained.

³⁸² H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 45 presents this case as a representative example of the category of motivation labelled 'redundancy'.

39:2 תִּסְפֹּר יָרֵחִים תִּמְלֵאנָה וַיֵּזְעַת עֵת לְדִתָּנָה:

11Q10 [...] רַחֲיִי*הֵינן 2, xxxii, שלמין ותנדע עדן מולדהין

RtgJob תמני ירחיא דשלמן ותדע עדוני מולדיהון:

P-Job נַלֵּו אַנֵּס חַנְנָא דַּנֵּסָא (____). חַנְנָא אַנֵּס וְכָּה חַנְנָא.

Can you number the months that they fulfil, and do you know the time when they bring forth
RSV

While the general meaning of the 39:2a is comparatively clear (i.e. Does Job know the number of months which the cows will complete/fulfil [תִּמְלֵאנָה] before giving birth?³⁸³) the lack of an explicitly represented relative pronoun in the Hebrew has apparently prompted some of its translators to provide one in their respective renderings.³⁸⁴ The targumist, like the English translators responsible for the RSV ('that'), adds a relative pronoun (וְ) before שלמין 'which they complete' thereby marking the relative clause explicitly. The Qumran translator makes use of the same root in providing a masc. pl. ptcp. שלמין 'are complete' with יִרְחֵי*הֵינן 'their months' presumably functioning as subject.³⁸⁵ Not only does the Syriac translator fail to provide an explicit marker of the relative, the Peshitta of Job in fact lacks even a representation of the verb תִּמְלֵאנָה. That this type of Hebrew idiom was understood by some translators of the Peshitta is shown by the fact that where a similar idiom appears in Genesis 25:24 and 29:27, the Syriac translator of these passages renders מלא with ܡܠܐ as the other Aramaic versions have done here. In fact, in light of the content of verse 1 'Do you know when the mountain

³⁸³ S.R. Driver and G.B. Gray, *The Book of Job* (II), 314 note that this verb מלא is also used with reference to the completion of an allotted period of time in Gen.29:27 (שָׁבַע 'week') and particularly in connection with pregnancy coming to full-term (Gen. 25:24 (וַיִּמְלֵא יֶמֶהָ לִלְדֹת)).

³⁸⁴ E. Dhorme, *A Commentary on the Book of Job*, 598.

³⁸⁵ M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 232. The reading of יִרְחֵי*הֵינן 'months' as subject of this verb (*contra* MT) has led the Qumran translator to modify the gender of the verb (fem. to masc.) in order to conform it to the subject. It is not uncommon for the translator of 11Q10 to add a suffix in order to make explicit what is perceived as being implied by the Hebrew. See 'Translator's Intervention' (Conclusion).

goats bring forth? Do you observe the calving of the hinds?’ and the remainder of verse 2 which follows the clause under discussion, (...and do you know the time of their birthing?’) it seems most likely that the Syriac translator has made a stylistic judgement and simply passed by this verb in his translation, perceiving that its omission would not deprive his rendering (‘Do you keep count of the number of months?’) of any significant meaning.³⁸⁶

39:3 תִּכְרַעְנָה יְלָדֵיהֶן תִּפְלֹחְנָה חֲבִלֵיהֶם תִּשְׁלַחְנָה:
 11Q10 ילדן בניהן ויפלטן xxxix, 3 וחבליהן תושר
 RtgJob חמטן/חמטין בניהן מתפלחן צעריהון משרדין:
 P-Job ܡܬܠܥܝܢ ܒܢܝܗܝܢ ܚܒܠܝܗܝܢ ܬܫܠܚܝܢ

They bow themselves, they bring forth their young. They cast out their pains. ASV

They crouch to drop their young, they get rid of their burdens NJB

The Hebrew follows on from verse 2 above with a series of three short verbal phrases, consciously or unconsciously recreating the repetition and gradual progress of the birthing act itself. The targumist and the Qumran translator both provide translations which at least in formal terms correspond closely to the Hebrew text. (V, Np + V, Np + V)³⁸⁷ The Syriac translator’s treatment of the preceding verse foreshadows his

³⁸⁶ H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 166 includes this instance among others classified as due to ‘intra-verse influence’. Although she does not justify her classification of this particular omission, it would seem that she has understood this omission as resulting from the translator’s desire to harmonise the two halves of the verse (perceiving that the first was unnecessarily overloaded by תִּפְלֹחְנָה). As she herself observes (p. 164) intra-verse influence and redundancy may work together to produce an omission in the Syriac rendering. In light of the explicit and almost over-loaded context, the mention of ‘counting months’ has clearly been perceived by the Syriac translator as so unambiguous as not to require the elaboration provided by this Hebrew verb.

³⁸⁷ The Qumran translation diverges from the Hebrew in a slightly different way however. 11Q10 has rendered MT תִּכְרַעְנָה ‘they kneel/crouch’ as if it governs the direct object of the clause יְלָדֵיהֶן whereas in the MT it is the subsequent verb which takes this direct object. This redivision of the first clause appears to have meant that the translator of 11Q10 has generalised the MT imperfect verb and translated with a participle ילדן ‘they bear’. F. Martinez *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 11*, 157 describes 11Q10’s translation here as a ‘plain rendering’. E.W. Tuinstra, *Hermeneutische Aspecten*, 31 notes that the translator uses a ‘simpler idiom’ here and elsewhere in this verse.

modification of verse 3 here where the Peshitta preserves a much reduced translation. First, the Syriac translator provides both a *waw* conjunction and a temporal conjunction ܐܬܝܬܐ ‘when’ in order to establish a more fluent co-ordination between verse 2 and 3 in the Peshitta of Job.³⁸⁸ Because the Syriac ܠܥܒܕ ‘to bow, bend, kneel’ must clearly correspond to תִּכְרַעְנָה, the two remaining sets of verbal phrases appearing in the Hebrew (חִבְּלֵיהֶם תִּשְׁלַחְנָה and יִלְדִּיתָן תִּפְלַחְנָה) are apparently represented by the Syriac translator with a single verb, ܬܠܥ. In grammatical terms the Syriac translator has provided a single verb phrase (without direct object) where the Hebrew possesses two verb phrases (each possessing an object). In semantic terms, the two more elaborate or explicit Hebrew clauses have been summarised by a single generic Syriac rendering. The Hebrew text’s explicit and repetitive narration of the birth of a calf has apparently been seen as stylistically unnecessary and overloaded and the Syriac version has been contracted accordingly. While this type of reductive translation tends to frustrate attempts to determine precisely which elements have or have not been omitted, it is nevertheless clear both that the Syriac translator has produced a rendering which lacks many elements of the Hebrew (and the other Aramaic translations) and that the most likely motivation would appear to be the translator’s perception that some elements in the Hebrew were stylistically redundant.³⁸⁹ While the NJB’s English translation does provide a fuller formal representation of the Hebrew than does the Syriac, the provision of an infinitival construction (‘crouch to drop’ vs. ASV) would seem to represent a stylistic contraction or reduction similar to that attested by P-Job.

³⁸⁸ For further discussion of P-Job’s treatment of the *waw* conjunction see Part Three below.

³⁸⁹ G. Rignell, *The Peshitta to the Book of Job*, 331 also observes that perceived redundancy has led the translator to omit material in his rendering of this verse. His suggestion that P-Job simply omits verse 3b due to its similarity to verse 3a. seems somewhat simplistic in light of the generic nature of ܬܠܥ.

39:4 יִחַלְמֵן בְּנֵיהֶם יִרְבּוּ בֶּכָר וְלֹא-שָׁבוּ לָמוֹ:

11Q10 יקשן בניהן ויפקן נפקו ולא תבוא xxxii, 4 עליהן

RtgJob מתחילין/ין בניהן יסגון בעיבורא יפקון ולא תייבין להון:

P-Job ܡܠܬܝܬܝܢ ܒܢܝܗܝܢ ܝܫܓܝܢ ܒܥܝܒܘܪܐ ܝܦܩܝܢ ܘܠܐ ܬܝܝܒܝܢ ܠܗܘܢ.

Their young ones become strong, they grow up in the open; they go forth, and do not return to them. RSV

In verse 4, the Hebrew poet goes on to describe the process by which the newborn animals mature. While 11Q10 and RtgJob apparently make some attempt to render each element of the Hebrew text, we are again confronted with a Syriac text which is noticeably abbreviated when compared to either the Hebrew text or its sister Aramaic translations.³⁹⁰ While the Hebrew provides two clauses describing the maturation process: יִחַלְמֵן בְּנֵיהֶם יִרְבּוּ בֶּכָר 'their young grow strong, they grow up in the wild', the Syriac translator has apparently chosen instead to collapse the two statements into a single verbal phrase ܡܠܬܝܬܝܢ ܒܢܝܗܝܢ 'their young grow up' which once again suggests that the translator has perceived the elaboration of the Hebrew text on this topic as stylistically unnecessary. It might seem reasonable to suggest that because the Syriac translator has here provided a translation (ܡܠܬܝܬܝܢ) which is cognate to the second of the two Hebrew verbs (יִרְבּוּ), it is יִחַלְמֵן which has been omitted, but this is difficult (and ultimately unnecessary) to prove. What seems evident, however, is that the perceived similarity of the two Hebrew phrases has led to their reduction by the Syriac translator. In the second half of the verse, we see that both the Qumran translator and the targumist have again provided translations which retain the antithetical structure of the Hebrew and represent the formal elements of the Hebrew quite closely (V + conj + neg. particle + V + Pp). P-Job's version of the last half of 39:4 is on the other hand composed of a

³⁹⁰ 11Q10 has however apparently rendered יִרְבּוּ בֶּכָר 'they grow up outside/in the field' with a single form ויפקן 'they (fem) send out' (M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 152). For the Aramaisms in this verse, see R. Gordis, *The Book of Job*, 456.

single verb **ܡܠܬܬܥܠܝ** ‘and (they) are weaned’. It seems quite clear that this rendering parallels that of v.4a in its telescopic treatment of the Hebrew text—obviously interpreting the antithetical ‘going forth and not returning’ as an overly elaborate Hebraic explanation of the weaning of the young.³⁹¹ Again, the translator appears to have understood the Hebrew text quite clearly, but chosen to sacrifice a full representation of the formal elements of the Hebrew in favour of a shorter translation which conveys the desired interpretation to the Syriac reader.

39:5 **ܡܝ-ܫܠַח ܦܪܐ ܚܦܫܝ ܡܝ-ܥܪܘܕ ܡܝ ܦܬܝܚ:**

11Q10 **ܡܢ ܫܠܚ ܦܪܐܗ ܒܪ ܚܪܝܢ ܘܚܢܩܝ ܥܪܕܐ ܡܢ ܫܪܐ xxxii, 5**

RtgJob **ܡܢ ܦܬܪ ܡܪܘܕܐ ܒܪ ܚܪܝ ܘܫܘܫܠܝ/ܘܫܘܠܫܝ ܥܪܘܕܐ ܡܢ ܫܐܪܝ:**

P-Job **ܡܢ ܥܒܕ ܡܢ ܡܪܕܐ ܒܪ ܚܪܝܢ ܡܢ ܦܬܝܚ () ܦܠܓ ܡܢ ܡܪܕܐ ܡܢ ܫܐܪܐ.**

Who let the wild donkey go free? Who untied his ropes? NIV

Who has let the ass of the fields go free? or () made loose the bands of the loud-voiced beast? BBE

In the next verse, 39:5, all three Aramaic versions of Job make use of roughly the same Aramaic idiom (Verb + **ܒܪ ܚܪܐ**) to render the Heb. **ܡܝ-ܫܠַח ܦܪܐ ܚܦܫܝ** ‘who set the onager free’ despite each using a different main verb.³⁹² It is in the second half of the verse where we see the Syriac translator diverging from the Hebrew source text and the translations preserved in the other Aramaic versions. The Peshitta of Job understands the MT pl. **ܡܫܪܝܬ** ‘bands, cords’ as a series of restraints which are, according to

³⁹¹ It would seem unlikely that H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 297 is correct to see P-Job’s **ܡܠܬܬܥܠܝ** ‘and are weaned’ as a rendering of MT **יָרְבִּנוּ** given that a cognate form has already been utilised in the Syriac translation of this verse. Similarly improbable is the reading of G. Rignell, *The Peshitta to the Book of Job*, 331 who sees this form as a translation of **יִחַלְמֵנוּ** on the (insufficient) grounds that the forms share two root letters.

³⁹² C. Mangan, *The Targum of Job*, 85 notes that this Aramaic idiom is also used in Tg. Onqelos and Ps-J (Ex. 21:26, 27).

the translator, most suitably represented in the Syriac by ܝܠܕ 'yoke',³⁹³ But more interesting for the present discussion is the Syriac translator's treatment of MT ܡܝ. In the preceding chapter, we noted that at 34:13, the Qumran translator failed to represent the second of two interrogative pronouns due to its perceived redundancy. Here we see that both the Qumran text and that of the targumist preserve equivalents to the pronoun. But, as with the Qumran translator in 34:13, the Syriac translator has here opted to omit a translation of the second ܡܝ, apparently perceiving that the first interrogative pronoun ܡܝ could do 'double-duty' according to the canons of Syriac style within which he operated.³⁹⁴ In this connection, it is also worthwhile noting the Syriac's apparent equivalent for MT ܥܪܕ. While the Qumran translator and targumist provided cognate equivalents for the Hebrew, the Peshitta opts to represent ܥܪܕ in a different manner. Despite the fact that different lexemes are in use in the first (ܦܪܐ) and second (ܥܪܕ) stichs, the semantic difference between the two has apparently been perceived as negligible.³⁹⁵ This perceived synonymy has resulted in the Peshitta's pronominal representation (ܠܝܡܢ ܡܝ ܝܠܕ 'let the yoke slip from *him*') in an attempt to avoid the repetition of the noun.³⁹⁶ While this latter modification is best described in formal terms as a substitution, both it and the obvious omission of the interrogative pronoun in P-Job's translation must be attributed to the translator's tendency to dispense with elements in the source text which he perceived to be stylistically redundant. Although no single English translation provides parallels of both adaptations discussed above, the NIV provides an example of pronoun substitution for stylistic reasons while the translation preserved in

³⁹³ For H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 293, this is an example of contextual translation. While it would be unwise to always draw a hard and fast line between categories, in this case because there is some semantic connection between the source lexeme 'bonds, cords' and target lexeme 'yoke' it seems that this adjustment should be understood as a contextual specification (182).

³⁹⁴ G. Rignell, *The Peshitta to the Book of Job*, 331 notes without explanation that the pronoun has been omitted in P-Job.

³⁹⁵ Both *BDB* and *KB*³ supply 'wild ass' as the English gloss for ܦܪܐ and ܥܪܕ.

³⁹⁶ G. Rignell, *The Peshitta to the Book of Job*, 331.

the BBE illustrates how English translators may be constrained in ways quite similar to their ancient Syriac counterparts.

Weitzman, in his recent introduction to the Syriac version of the Old Testament, suggests that Job 39:3-4 (along with other passages in Job) were compressed by the Syriac translator due to the difficulty of the text.³⁹⁷ While these verses are by no means the easiest within the Hebrew text of Job, the above analysis of these verses would suggest that this compression has taken place for other reasons. As we have seen, even in producing a radically reductive rendering, the Syriac translator appears to have understood the text he was translating (see e.g. 39:4b). And when viewed within the context of 39:2-5, we see that the omission/compression of material in vv 3 and 4 fits well indeed with the translator's manifest tendency to omit material which he perceived as superfluous to an acceptable Syriac rendering of the Hebrew.

The above discussion of the Syriac rendering of 39:2-5 has treated a range of modifications—some outright omissions but others less easily classified. From this we see that the theoretical line between omission and substitution, while often clear and distinct, is on occasions rather blurred. But while some of the examples presented here from the beginning of chapter 39 have eluded strict classification in formal terms, all reflect the Syriac translator's tendency to reduce the length and complexity of the text due to its perceived redundancy not merely sporadically but also in a sustained way.

In P-Job's version of 34:12 we see that the Syriac translation diverges both from the Hebrew and the other Aramaic versions in its treatment of the beginning of the verse.

³⁹⁷ M.P. Weitzman, *The Syriac version of the Old Testament*, 45.

אֶף-אַמְנָם אֵל לֹא-יִרְשִׁיעַ וְשָׁדִי לֹא-יַעֲוֶה מִשְׁפָּט: 34:12

[...] 11Q10 [הכען צדא אלהא xxiv, 7 ישקר ומרא] [...]

ברם בקושטא אלהא לא יחייב ושדי לא יקלקל דינא RtgJob

() P-Job ܒܪܡ ܒܩܘܫܬܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܐ ܝܚܝܝܒ ܘܫܕܝ ܠܐ ܝܩܠܩܠ ܕܝܢܐ

Yea, of a surety, God will not do wickedly, Neither will the Almighty pervert justice. ASV

() Of a truth, God will not do wickedly, and the Almighty will not pervert justice. RSV

Although only the first portion of the Qumran text's translation of this verse is preserved, it is sufficient to note that the resounding negative assertion of the Hebrew has become a rhetorical question in 11Q10.³⁹⁸ Our focus here, however, is on the Aramaic versions' treatment of אֶף-אַמְנָם 'surely, truthfully (i.e., in truth)',³⁹⁹ The Qumran translation has provided a temporal particle כען 'now' in place of Heb. אֶף 'surely' perhaps in order to differentiate its renderings of the two successive Hebrew asseveratives. The targumist responsible for RtgJob's version of the Hebrew represents both elements of the source text in his translation (ברם בקושטא) adding a preposition ב- before the nominal קושטא 'truth' in order to bring the translation in line with one of the characteristic expressions of this adverb in Aramaic.⁴⁰⁰ The treatment of the double asseverative in the Qumran translation finds a parallel in the Syriac text in terms of the perception of its repetition. But where the translator responsible for 11Q10 opts to substitute כען 'now' for Heb. אֶף 'surely', the Syriac translator has simply omitted the latter particle in his target text. H. Szpek, noting that Syriac ܕܠܐܝܬܐ 'truly' is most often en-

³⁹⁸ E.W. Tuinstra, *Hermeneutische Aspecten*, 23 observes that this modification (substitution of interrogative *he* for Hebrew אֵל) is paralleled in the LXX. Although the rhetorical question of the following verse (34:13) 'Who appointed him over the earth...etc?' is not retained in 11Q10's translation, the Qumran translator has apparently attempted to relate his rendering to v.12 here.

³⁹⁹ R. Gordis, *The Book of Job*, 386 suggests that this repetition is an indicator of Elihu's passionate convictions.

⁴⁰⁰ G. Dalman, *Grammatik des Jüdisch-Palästinischen Aramäisch* (Darmstadt: 1905) § 42.4. The provision of a preposition (albeit a different one) is also attested in some English translations.

countered as a rendering of אָמֵן observes that אָ is omitted in the Syriac translation of the double asseverative both here and at 19:4.⁴⁰¹ Because this expression appears in the Hebrew Bible only here and at Job 19:4, it is difficult to determine whether this omission/reduction is to be attributed to a linguistic constraint operative in translating from Hebrew to Syriac or simply a stylistic preference of the translator. In either case, however, the evident motivation for this omission is the perception that the representation of אָמֵן with ܐܡܝܢ has made the provision of an equivalent for אָ unnecessary. While the linguistic-stylistic constraints operative in the ASV's translation (1901) of the Hebrew allow for a full representation in its English rendering ('Yea, of a surety') its successor, the RSV (1952), like the Syriac, prefers to provide an equivalent for only one of the two Hebrew terms and omits 'yea' accordingly.

27:17 יָכִין וְצִדִּיק יִלְבֹּשׁ וְכֹסֶף נָקִי יַחֲלֹק:

11Q10 [...] [ו]מ[צו]ה/ט[ב]ה/ קש**טה יפלג

RtgJob יתקין וצדיקא יהי לביש וסימא זכאי יפליג:

P-Job מנה נטמה חודמה לבד. ממסמה () נפלג.

he may pile it up, but the just will wear it, and the innocent will divide the silver. RSV

Many scholars have found the placing of certain portions of Job 27 in the mouth of Job himself to be problematic and have thus suggested alternative attributions.⁴⁰² Regardless of its attribution, the fragmentary preservation of the Qumran translation here at 27:17 focuses our attention *perforce* on the Aramaic versions' rendering of the latter half of the verse. The Qumran translator provides Aramaic קש**טה 'the innocent, upright'

⁴⁰¹ H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 228. We have already seen in our discussion of 35:13 how the particle אָ is also omitted at the beginning of the verse in P-Job's version.

⁴⁰² M. Pope, *Job*, 187 for instance, sees 27:8 as the beginning of Zophar's rejoinder to Job, while S.R. Driver and G.B. Gray, *The Book of Job* (I), 229 see verses 11-12 as a Joban interjection in 7-23 which should then tentatively be attributed to Zophar.

as an equivalent of the absolute form נָקִי in the Hebrew text.⁴⁰³ The pairing of צַדִּיק and נָקִי in parallel stichs also takes place earlier in Job at 22:19 and there, as here, the translator of RtgJob provides the appropriate Aramaic equivalents (ܙܕܝܩܐ and ܢܚܐ respectively). In P-Job's version of 22:19, these same lexemes appear in Syriac guise (ܙܕܝܩܐ and ܢܚܐ), but here in 27:17 we see that the translator has treated this word-pair in a different fashion. In the first portion of the verse the expected equivalent (ܙܕܝܩܐ) is provided, but in the second part נָקִי fails to receive representation in the Syriac translation. (Apart from the omission, the translator's rendering of 27:17b departs but little from the Hebrew text וַיִּפְּסֵם (____) כֶּסֶף 'and *their* silver/money he divides'.⁴⁰⁴) Although the grammatical subject is made clear from the inflection of the verbal form וַיִּפְּסֵם, the decision to omit a rendering of נָקִי means that the antecedent of this verb is now the cognate translation (ܙܕܝܩܐ) of the first stich which parallels it.⁴⁰⁵ It seems most likely that the translator's omission of the second of these two synonymous terms here results from a perception that the explicit repetition of the latter term would overload the Syriac rendering of the verse in light of the occurrence of ܙܕܝܩܐ earlier in the verse.⁴⁰⁶

The fact that both members of this word pair are preserved in the Syriac version of 22:19 is a reminder that stylistic preference is precisely that—preference—and that the search for standardisation and rigorous consistency in rendering will often be frustrated by the art of the translator. Nevertheless, the above example does substantiate and corroborate earlier illustrations of the Syriac translator's tendency to omit elements in translation which he deemed to be superfluous in a idiomatic Syriac rendering of the Hebrew text.

⁴⁰³ If B.E. Zuckerman, *The Process of Translation*, 399 is correct to see the final *heh* of the 11Q10 form as a marker of the emphatic form as opposed to an indicator of the 3rd f. sg form (M. Pope, *Job*, 192) he may also be right in suggesting that the Aramaic translator has intended to clarify for his reader, the collective sense of the reference to 'the innocent'.

⁴⁰⁴ The addition of the 3rd masc. pl. suffix serves to reiterate the antecedent 'evildoers' (v.13).

⁴⁰⁵ A. Mandl, *Die Peschitta zum Hiob*, 26; E. Baumann, 'Verwendbarkeit der Peshita', (1899) 40.

⁴⁰⁶ H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 163.

36:25 כָּל־אָדָם חָזוּ־בּוֹ אֲנֹשׁ יִבִּיט מֵרְחוֹק:

11Q10 [וְ] כָּל אַנְשָׁא עֲלוּהִי חֲזִין וּבְנִי־אַנְשָׁא xxviii, 3 מֵרְחֵי[ק ...] יִבְקוּן

RtgJob כל בר־נש חמון ביה אנש יסתכל מרחיק:

P-Job ܡܠܬܐ ܐܢܬܐ ܥܠܘܗܝ ܚܝܝܢ ܐܢܬܐ ܡܠܬܐ ܡܚܝܬܐ () ܡܠܬܐ ܡܚܝܬܐ ܡܚܝܬܐ.

All men have looked on it; man beholds it from afar. RSV

All people have looked on it; everyone watches it from far away. NRSV

Having exhorted his hearers to praise the work of the LORD (פַּעֲלֹ) in the preceding verse 24, Elihu now in verse 25 affirms this work as universally observable. Again, as with the previous example the Hebrew employs a synonymous parallel structure in order to convey this thought. And again, the Qumran translator and the targumist supply equivalent for the subject of the first half of the verse (אָדָם) and its counterpart in the second (אֲנֹשׁ). Here in v.25a of chapter 36 we see that the translator of P-Job has chosen to provide the anticipated Syriac rendering (ܡܠܬܐ ܐܢܬܐ) of Hebrew אָדָם.⁴⁰⁷ Where its counterpart אֲנֹשׁ appears in the second stich, however, the Syriac translator does not provide an explicit representation of the subject, preferring to rely on the verb ܡܠܬܐ 'they see' to provide the specification of subject.⁴⁰⁸ While this exact word pair does not appear in the same order elsewhere in Job, the pairing of terms referring to man, mankind or humans does appear frequently.⁴⁰⁹ The fact that in each of these instances, the Syriac translator provides representation of terms in both stichs in his Peshitta version of Job raises the question of why an equivalent has not been supplied in this case. The answer seems to lie not only in v.25 but also in the final words of

⁴⁰⁷ The interpretation of the Hebrew as a collective has apparently led to the selection of a Syriac plural equivalent. For discussion of P-Job's treatment of collectives see H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 64-65.

⁴⁰⁸ G. Rignell, *The Peshitta to the Book of Job*, 305 and H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 163. The Qumran translation's equivalent for Hebrew אֲנֹשׁ, בְּנֵי־אָדָם parallels the Syriac translation of אָדָם in the 25a, as does its use of a plural verb form (יִבְקוּן).

⁴⁰⁹ See for instance 4:17, 10:5, 25:6, 14:10, 16:21, 33:17, 34:11, 37:7, 38:26. Terms used in these verses

v.24 before it. There we note that the final stich of the MT (אֲשֶׁר שִׁרְרוּ אֲנָשִׁים:) ‘which men have praised’ anticipates the repeated appearance of these terms in verse 25 with the provision of the undetermined agent (אֲנָשִׁים) as subject.⁴¹⁰ While under normal circumstances, the repetition of terms such as אָדָם and אֲנוּשׁ in parallel stichs was clearly not seen as requiring modification in the Syriac translation, the appearance of a substantially synonymous term (אֲנָשִׁים) at the end of the immediately preceding verse here in chapter 36 has clearly led the translator to abandon a rendering of the last of these terms in 36:25b. Here again, when the stylistic constraint of redundancy is triggered, the Syriac translator is willing and able to pass over elements which he deems to be superfluous for an adequate translation.

Summary of Unique Omissions in P-Job

Unlike the assessment of the Qumran translation, the question of whether or not material has in fact been omitted in the Syriac version or has simply been lost in the degradation of the manuscript is not one which requires the same attention. If, however, this particular element of uncertainty is removed from the analysis with respect to P-Job, the specific reasons for a portion of text going unrepresented in the Syriac version of Job are, on several occasions, no more clear than was the case with the Qumran translation.⁴¹¹

While there are instances where the cause of the omission is now obscure, it does also appear to be the case that on several occasions the Syriac translator has passed over elements in the source text as a result of the challenges posed by the Hebrew text. The

include אנוש, גבר, אדם, בן אדם, איש (sg. and pl.).

⁴¹⁰ A misreading of the text has led the Syriac translator to include a rendering of כָּל in his version of 36:24b: *ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ*.

⁴¹¹ In some cases the uncertainty in assessing an omission is rather to be located in the issue of formal classification. It is the, at times, fuzzy line between substitution and omission (see discussion of Job 39:2,5) which explains why some modifications classified as omissions by Szpek (21:7, 36:33, 39:2) have been treated as substitutions in the present discussion. Their inclusion here would however not materially alter the conclusions of our study.

important point for the present discussion is not the precise assessment of the Syriac translator's ability to deal with the Hebrew text, but rather the fact that the translator, when confronted by a text which was perceived as problematic in some way, was willing to omit a range of elements in his Syriac translation in an attempt to ameliorate the situation.

Other examples presented from the Syriac translation of Job suggest that, like the Qumran translation, certain elements may be omitted by the Syriac translator not primarily because they themselves were perceived as problematic but because the translator's understanding or modification of the surrounding co-text or verse as a whole has rendered their inclusion unnecessary or inappropriate in the production of an adequate Syriac text.

The quite substantial differences between Hebrew and Syriac in matters of language and style bring us again to a series of omissions which, as was the case with the Qumran translation, seem to be best located at various points along a linguistic-stylistic continuum. As with 11Q10, it is not always easy to draw a hard and fast line between linguistic necessity and stylistic preference with respect to the Syriac translator's omission of a given element, but certain trends with regard to P-Job's rationale for omitting elements in translation may nevertheless be discerned in several of the examples which were discussed.

While some modifications are best understood as linguistically required by the difference between the source language (Hebrew) and the Syriac target language, other omissions are not as regular in their occurrence, being found in some instances but not in others. The lack of uniformity would seem to suggest that the constraint at work in these latter cases is not linguistic necessity but the stylistic preference of a translator bent on providing an acceptably idiomatic Syriac rendering.

One specific manifestation of the translator's stylistic preferences can be seen in the comparatively large number of examples where an element in the Hebrew text fails to receive representation in the Syriac translation due to its perceived redundancy.

Whether particle, prepositional phrase, suffix or noun, the Syriac translator feels free to omit the element of the Hebrew text if it is perceived as superfluous and unnecessary for an acceptable Syriac rendering. The clearest examples of such adaptations are those in which a synonymous or nearly synonymous element precedes the one which has been omitted, thereby explaining the translator's perception of the latter's redundancy.

CHAPTER 4

RTGJOB

Having dwelt at some length on the phenomenon of omission in the Syriac and Qumran versions of Job, we now shift our focus to the third translation, the Rabbinic targum of Job. As was the case with its sister translations, modifications of omission have received no systematic treatment in the study of the targum. Indeed, it is almost safe to say that the topic has gone entirely unmentioned when the subject of translation technique has been raised.⁴¹² This assessment seems to hold true even when more recent treatment of the targum is considered. Although Mangan, in the introduction to her English translation, deals with the question of the targum's approach to rendering the Hebrew text, no specific attention is given to explicitly differentiating modes of representation and her discussion focuses on modification involving either substitution or addition.⁴¹³ Indeed even R. Weiss' extensive work on the targum of Job (to which Mangan's discussion is heavily indebted) makes only slight mention of the phenomenon of omission.⁴¹⁴ It is in the light of this lack of previous attention to omission, that we turn now to an examination of examples in the Rabbinic targum of Job.

⁴¹² E. L. Epstein *A Critical Analysis of Chapters One to Twenty-six of the Targum to the Book of Job*, (PhD dissertation Univ. of Chicago, 1941) 93ff. enumerates several characteristics of RtgJob's translation. While his observation that the RtgJob modifies the number (sg. to pl. and vice versa) in relation to the MT suggests that the portion of text analysed by Epstein was scrutinised by him in some detail, no mention of omission is to be found in his discussion.

⁴¹³ See C. Mangan, *The Targum of Job*, 14.

⁴¹⁴ R. Weiss, התרגום הארמי לספר איוב, 220-9. Weiss' reference to the omission of material with regard to the translation of recurrent phrases (220) does not seem to be supported by textual examples in the material which follows (220-9).

גַּם-הוּא עֲנֵן פְּלִילִי כִּי-כַחֲשֵׁתִי לְאֵל מִמָּעַל: 31:28

[...כד]בֹּת xix, 3 לאלהא מעל]א ... 11Q10

לחור הוא סורחן פריש ארום כדביבית ()אלהא מן-לעילא: RtgJob

P-Job אפ מה מא חלמא גִּנְתָּם, אַ חֲבֵם מִבַּח אֲלִמָּא.

this also would be an iniquity to be punished by the judges, for I should have been false to God above. RSV

This also were an iniquity to be punished by the judges; For I should have denied () the God that is above. ASV

Verse 28 of chapter 31 sees Job admit that, had he been seduced by the worship of other gods, he would indeed be deserving of judgement.⁴¹⁵ It is the second half of the verse and its representation in the Rabbinic targum which is our focus here. The Qumran translation agrees with the MT in representing the *lamedh* before the divine name (לֵאלֹהִים / לְאֵל) while the translator of P-Job also provides a preposition in the same position but supplies מִבַּח where the MT possesses *lamedh*.⁴¹⁶ The translator responsible for the Rabbinic targum of Job, however, does not appear to provide any equivalent for this element of the Hebrew text, despite the fact that where this same Hebrew verb (כַּחֲשׁ) is used at 8:18 with the preposition ב- (כַּחֲשׁ בְּ) RtgJob agrees with the MT in supplying Aramaic כִּדְב and ב, the cognate preposition.⁴¹⁷ The key to understanding the targumist's omission here appears to be located not purely within the targum of Job itself but also in the related targum of the Psalms. R. Weiss' detailed study of the Tar-

⁴¹⁵ For discussion of verse 27 'and my hand kissed my mouth' and possible Near Eastern parallels see M. Pope, *Job*, 235.

⁴¹⁶ See 6:28 where P-Job also makes use of this preposition in conjunction with this verb. The use of this preposition suggests that the Syriac translation should perhaps be understood as intending a 'lack of faithfulness before God' rather than the Hebrew version which suggests denial or lying to God. See R. Payne-Smith, *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903) (hereafter *Payne-Smith*) 204-5 and H. Szpek's translation in *Translation Technique*, 216.

⁴¹⁷ While two of the Sephardi witnesses (א ז) within the MS tradition of RtgJob preserve a variant here at 31:28 (כדביבית) it is clear that this variant owes its existence to an inner-Aramaic confusion of כ and ב. See D.M. Stec, *The Text of the Targum of Job*, 214 for full citation of variants.

gum of Job showed that substantial similarities existed between it and the Targum of Psalms in terms of lexicon and choice of translation equivalents.⁴¹⁸ In the Hebrew text of Psalms the verb כחש appears in conjunction with the preposition *lamedh* and in all three locations, it is clear from the context that the construction must mean ‘to cringe (i.e. tremble in obedience or submission).’⁴¹⁹ In TgPsalms 66:3, where the Hebrew text reads: (יִכְחֹשׁוּ לְךָ אֹיְבֶיךָ:) ‘your enemies will cringe before you’ the targumist faithfully reproduces the Hebrew expression: יִכְרַבּוֹן לְךָ. Where the expression appears in the MT at 81:16 מְשַׁנְאֵי יְהוָה יִכְחֹשׁוּ-לָּו ‘the despisers of the LORD will cringe before him’ it is again translated in a precise and literal fashion by TgPsalms (יִכְרַבּוֹן לֵיהּ).⁴²⁰ As already mentioned, in chapter 8, verse 18 of Job we find the more common use of כחש where it takes כ- and has the meaning of ‘to deny’. When we turn to the construction at 31:28 it is also clear from the context that the meaning must be ‘to deny’ but we see that in the Hebrew here the verb nevertheless takes the *lamedh*. Remembering that in the Psalms ל + כחש refers to cringing in obedience or submission, it is easy now to see that the *lamedh* preposition has failed to be represented by the targumist due to the potential ambiguity which would arise if it were included here, where the expression can in no way be construed as referring to ‘cringing’ but must refer to the denial of God.⁴²¹ In other words, for the targumist to have rendered the *lamedh* here in 31:28 would have introduced an unacceptable source of confusion/ambiguity in light of the understanding (‘to cringe submissively’ = כרַבּ ל = ל + כחש) already established in the closely related targum of Psalms.

⁴¹⁸ R. Weiss, *התרגום הארמי לספר איוב*, 74. See 93ff. for expressions in common between these two texts. C. Mangan, *The Targum of Job*, 13 provides an abbreviated list in the introduction to her translation. She follows Weiss in seeing the parallel expressions as significant but not themselves necessarily requiring the supposition of a common translator.

⁴¹⁹ Ps. 18:45, 66:3 and 81:16; *BDB*, כחש (3).

⁴²⁰ In Ps. 18:45 the MT: יִכְחֹשׁוּ-לִי is rendered by TgPsalms (ed. de Lagarde) slightly differently: יִכְרַבּוֹן קִדְמִי.

⁴²¹ The inappropriateness of this translation is exemplified by hypothetically substituting this expression in the RSV’s translation...: *‘this also would be an iniquity to be punished by the judges, for I should have been cringing before God above’.

Another example of the targumist's apparent omission of an element which appears in the Hebrew text is drawn from the Aramaic translation of Job 42:5,

42:5 לְשִׁמְעָ-אֶזְנִי שְׁמַעְתִּיד' וְעַתָּה עֵינִי רֹאאֲתָךְ:

11Q10 למשמע אדן שמעתך וכען עיני 8 xxxvii, חזתך

RtgJob למשמע {א} דאודנא שמעית יתך ו() עיני לא חמיית יתך:

የሰው ሀብት ምርመራ ማድረግ P-Job

I had heard of thee by the hearing of the ear, but now my eye sees thee; RSV

Although it may not be entirely clear in what way Job's eye has 'seen', what is evident in Job 42:5 is the contrast between hearing and seeing.⁴²² The contrast is pushed home by the use of the conjunction and the common Hebrew adverb of time וְעַתָּה 'but now'. At 30:16 this same construction is rendered faithfully by the Aramaic versions with וְכַעַן (11Q10) וכדון (RtgJob) and, ܠܡܥܢܐ (P-Job). Here, however, while the Syriac and Qumran translations provide these same equivalents for the Hebrew, most witnesses within the RtgJob textual tradition fail to provide their readers with the anticipated equivalent of Hebrew וְעַתָּה.⁴²³ While it might be reasonable to attribute the omission of such an element to error or some other incidental motivation, closer examination of the Rabbinic targum's translation of this verse suggests that the cause for the text's deficiency here lies elsewhere. Specifically, it is important to note that while a few witnesses to RtgJob (ע פ כ א) follow

⁴²² M. Pope, *Job*, 348 rejects Tur-Sinai's suggestion that an earlier form of the book of Job made more of the divine self-revelation. S.R. Driver and G.B. Gray, *The Book of Job* (I), 372 nicely summarise one view of the contrast: 'Vision is here contrasted as direct personal experience of what a person is and does with hearing as knowledge at second-hand, knowledge of some other's experience or report of that person, knowledge which, even if not mingled with error, as was the traditional doctrine of God, which had been passed on to Job, must at best be blurred and indistinct.'

⁴²³ Some RtgJob witnesses from Stec's Group 2 (א ב נ) and Group 3 (ב פ) preserve the expected Aramaic equivalent (כרין). The fact that one of the Group 1 MSS (ג) shows a later hand 'correcting' its deficient manuscript by supplying כרין suggests the possibility that some of the above manuscripts, having originally lacked this equivalent, may also have been supplied with it at some point during the textual transmission process.

the MT (עֵינַי רְאִיתְךָ 'now my eyes see/have seen you') at this point the majority reading offers a radically different suggestion: עֵינִי לֹא חֲמִיית יתך 'my eye has *not* seen you'. Michael Klein, a scholar well-familiar with such adjustments presents the Rabbinic targum's treatment of Job 42:5 as a textbook example of the 'converse translation technique'—a modification which is effected by the translator in a variety of ways in order to 'convert' (i.e., reverse) the meaning of the source text.⁴²⁴ If it is clear that some part of the RtgJob tradition has reversed the meaning of the Hebrew text such that Job's claim is that his eye has *not* seen the deity, we are entitled to inquire why such a modification has taken place. In his thorough analysis of divine revelation in the Pentateuchal targumim, Chester links the use of אֲתִנְגִּיל for נִרְאָה with the theme that God cannot be seen and presents a number of renderings in the Pentateuch which demonstrate targumic awareness of and sensitivity to this issue.⁴²⁵ With respect to the targum of Job for example, at 21:27 the MT shows an active construction 'I [Job] know your thoughts' (הֵן יָדַעְתִּי מַחְשְׁבוֹתֶיכֶם) where the passive appears in Aramaic גִּלְיִין קֳדָמַי מַחְשַׁבְתִּכּוֹן '(your thoughts) are revealed before me'. This same treatment of verbs such as יָדַע 'to know', רָאָה 'to see' or שָׁמַע 'to hear' in connection with primarily (but not exclusively⁴²⁶) the divine subject appears with various degrees of frequency and consistency throughout RtgJob and indeed large parts of the targumic corpus.⁴²⁷ It seems then most reasonable to connect this

⁴²⁴ M. Klein, 'Converse Translation: A Targumic Technique' *Biblica* 57 [4] (1976) 529 n.31. The means of achieving this end include addition or deletion of the negative particle, replacement of verb, resolution of rhetorical question etc. See also recently R.P. Gordon, "Converse Translation".

⁴²⁵ Gen. 32:31, 33:10; Ex 24:10, 11; 33:11, 20, 23. As A. Chester, *Divine revelation and divine titles in the Pentateuchal targumim* TSAJ 14 (Tübingen : Mohr, 1986) 362 notes, '...PJ (Pseudo-Jonathan) has the most developed interpretation, but the various devices used by the different Targumim indicate a consistent refusal on the part of all the Targumim to allow the possibility that God can be seen.'

⁴²⁶ The use of such constructions in contexts where the deity's transcendence is not at stake (R. Weiss, *התרגום הארמי לספר איוב*, 209 also notes its occurrence in non-divine contexts.) may suggest a complicated history for these types of expressions.

⁴²⁷ A. Chester, *Divine revelation*, 20 notes that the expression is found commonly in the pentateuchal targumim and latter prophets, primarily although not exclusively, with a divine subject in connection with verbs such as 'to know', 'to see' or 'to hear'. It also appears in the Latter Prophets, e.g. I Kgs. 8:39; II Kgs. 8:30. In RtgJob, this equivalence also appears at 23:10 (MT Subj.: God), 30:23 (MT Subj.: Job) (although in both cases one or more Group 2 MSS read the Aramaic cognate (יָדַע)). For the use of קֳדָמַי in the

particular application of the converse translation technique to the targumist's theological/ideological concern to avoid Job's explicit claim to have seen the deity with his own eyes. What light then does this modification shed on our primary concern in this verse—the omission of the temporal adverb עֲתָה in the majority of witnesses to the targumic text of Job?⁴²⁸ As mentioned above, in the Hebrew version of 42:5 רָאִיתִיךָ לְשִׁמְעֵי-אָזְנוֹ שָׁמַעְתִּיךָ וְעַתָּה עֵינַי רָאִיתִיךָ 'by hearsay, I heard you but *now* my eye has seen you' the adverb עֲתָה functions to temporally contrast two aspects or phases of Job's perception of the divine (hearing and seeing). The targumist's transformation of the Hebrew into a negative statement ('by hearsay, I heard you but [now] my eye has *not* seen you') renders the inclusion of the expected כְּרוֹן at best superfluous and at worst confusing, for the contrast emphasised by the targumist is not a temporal one (hearing *then*, but seeing *now*) but one of differing modes of perception (*hearing*, but not *seeing*). The fact that several of the witnesses which diverge from the MT in showing the negative also do not include an element corresponding to עֲתָה in their translation supports the link between the two modifications.⁴²⁹ The above analysis would strongly suggest that a theological/ideological constraint felt by the translator has had the knock-on effect of requiring the exclusion of an element (כְּרוֹן) which would otherwise expect to receive representation in the targum translation.⁴³⁰

targumim see M.L. Klein, 'The Preposition QDM ('before'): A Pseudo-Anti-Anthropomorphism in the Targums' *JThS* 30 (1979) 502-507.

⁴²⁸ It is worth noting that in every other instance (18x) where Hebrew עֲתָה occurs in Job, the Rabbinic targum supplies an equivalent expression.

⁴²⁹ Of the four witnesses which follow the MT and do not add the negative (א ב פ ע) the first three also represent עֲתָה with כְּרוֹן.

⁴³⁰ The fact that ע preserves כְּרוֹן but then adds the negative would tend to confirm the suggestion that it is not the appropriateness of כְּרוֹן, but rather the issue of divine revelation which is of primary importance in this situation.

Summary of Unique Omissions in RtgJob

In retrospect, it is not surprising that commentators on RtgJob have not given much space to a discussion of omissions in their analysis of the RtgJob for there appears to be in fact comparatively little to discuss. In the first instance of omission in the Rabbinic targum of Job, we saw that the primary motivation for excluding an element of the Hebrew text was the translator's concern for a clear and intelligible text. In the case of 31:28, the translator apparently perceived (correctly?) that the preservation of an exceptional use of a Hebrew construction (ל + כחש) in his Aramaic translation would have entailed an unacceptable level of ambiguity and confusion (vis-à-vis the deity) in light of the translation of this expression in the related TgPsalms. What seems rather remarkable, however, is that this instance in 31:28 appears to be the one and only example of this type of omission in RtgJob (or more accurately, that portion of RtgJob for which parallel passages exist in both the Qumran and Syriac translations).

The targumic translation of Job 42:5 provides the present analysis with a second instance of omission in RtgJob. In this case, however, it is the addition of the negative particle for theological/ideological reasons which appears to have prompted the subsequent exclusion of the Hebrew adverbial element in the Aramaic translation of the targumist. The relationship between these two modifications in all but one textual witness to RtgJob suggests that the adverb has been omitted only because the preservation of Aramaic כדון was apparently perceived by the targumist as creating an impermissible degree of confusion in light of the crucial change required by his theological/ideological perspective.

Unlike the analysis of the other Aramaic versions, the very lack of other examples of omission in the targumist's translation of Job makes the task of classification and summary a rather tricky business. While the first modification seems to have forced itself on the translator as a linguistic necessity due to the concern to avoid ambiguity with respect to the deity, the second case of omission seems also to have been re-

quired—but required as a result of a logically prior and theologically constrained modification in the co-text.⁴³¹

⁴³¹ This distinction would seem to be supported by the parallel translations (Aramaic and English) of the respective passages. In the first instance, the *lamedh* preposition provided by the Hebrew and preserved in 11Q10 and RSV(English) may also be omitted in English (ASV) and substituted in Aramaic (P-Job: 𐤋𐤍). It is not surprising to find that the omission of the temporal adverb, with its origins in a preceding extralinguistic modification, finds no parallel in the other versions, whether English or Aramaic.

CHAPTER 5

OMISSION IN THE ARAMAIC VERSIONS OF JOB

Having looked at the phenomenon of omission in the three Aramaic versions of Job in their own right, we are perhaps now in a better position to compare and contrast their approaches to the Hebrew text and to suggest some answers to the questions set forth at the beginning of this section. Clearly, the question of whether the Aramaic translators of these three versions leave elements of the Hebrew text unrepresented must be answered in the affirmative. Equally clear is the fact that this simple affirmative answer must be nuanced considerably in order to accurately and usefully reflect the similarities and differences which are evident when the Aramaic versions' attitudes toward omission are seen in the light of each other.

In light of the substantial linguistic affinities of the three target dialects utilised by the translators of the Aramaic versions of Job it is perhaps surprising that more examples of shared omission were not uncovered in the course of the synoptic comparison. The shared omissions which were uncovered did, however, in some respects foreshadow the findings arrived at when each translation was studied in its own right. The sole instance of a minus shared by all three Aramaic versions involved the omission of a minor element functioning as a grammatical specifier (suffix) which was apparently perceived by all the translators as being incongruous within the context in which it was found. This concern with a basic level of intelligibility was reflected to varying degrees in the assessment of the individual translations which followed. The only other shared omission was to be found in common between the Qumran and Peshitta versions of Job and again it was a Hebrew suffix which was found to be lacking in these two translations. While the Hebrew text in question seemed to be, if not problematic, at least irregular,

the additional factor of a preceding modification was also seen to play a part in the common omission.

Likewise, in the assessment of unique omissions in 11Q10 and P-Job we saw that irregular or problematic Hebrew texts and modifications of the co-text were responsible for the translators' exclusion of certain elements in translation. In light of the extremely low number of unique omissions discovered in the Rabbinic targum of Job (2) it is, in retrospect, hardly surprising that the Rabbinic targum should share no omissions with either P-Job or 11Q10. Indeed, in light of the targum's lack of omissions it is somewhat unexpected that even a single omission was found to be shared by all three Aramaic versions.

In order to helpfully answer the question of what type of elements are omitted in translation and why, it is necessary to look more closely at the ways in which the various versions' agree and differ in their tendency to omit source text elements in translation.

From the outset it is worth remembering that the fragmentary state of the Qumran manuscript means that the analysis of omissions is complicated by two factors not encountered in the Syriac and targum texts. In some cases there seems to be insufficient space in 11Q10 to contain the expected representation of the Hebrew text. While many of these suspected omissions are sizeable, determination of the cause for their absence in the translation is difficult. A second complicating factor is the very real possibility that an element in the Hebrew text which does not appear in a corresponding location in the Qumran translation (i.e., an apparent omission) may have been in fact transposed to another position now no longer preserved in the Aramaic rendering.⁴³²

While the above features are unique to the Qumran translation, common ground is found between P-Job and 11Q10 in other cases. In particular, both translations present instances where an element in the Hebrew text has been passed over in translation, but the reason for the omission is not particularly clear. In comparison with the Qumran text, the Syriac translation presents more examples of omission in which the precise

cause for the deficiency is unclear, but the range of possible explanations displayed by the two versions is basically similar (error and textual difficulty, linguistic-stylistic and/or theological preferences, alternate *Vorlage*, inner-Aramaic textual corruption).⁴³³ A more significant parallel may be suggested by the Qumran and Syriac translators' omission of the negative particle when translating the Hebrew into Aramaic/Syriac. In neither case can we be sure of the precise motivation, but in both cases the translators of P-Job (21:4) and 11Q10 (35:13) may have omitted the negative particle in order to provide an acceptable rendering of what may have been perceived as an ideologically or theologically difficult text. In any case, although the targumist is also willing to implement the converse translation technique on ideological grounds (42:5), it is important to note that this implementation in the targum is facilitated through the *addition* rather than *omission* of the negative particle, as is the case in the Syriac and Qumran versions.⁴³⁴

The Qumran and Syriac versions also both bear witness to the fact that their translators were willing to pass over an element in the source text because of the perceived challenge presented by a given Hebrew text. In most cases the element passed over in translation is either a small functional word or morpheme rather than a large portion of text. And in particular, it seems that prepositions and prepositional phrases (P-Job: 36:7, 37:12; 11Q10: 29:7, 34:13, 42:11) were fair game for omission by both translators when seen as contributing to a difficult Hebrew text. Again it must be remembered that the 'problem' which has given rise to an instance of omission may have stemmed from a lack of Hebrew linguistic competence or from a deficiency or corruption within the Hebrew text itself. The important point, however, is that when a 'difficult' text is encountered, both the translators of 11Q10 and P-Job may resort to omission.

⁴³² The phenomenon of transposition in 11Q10 is discussed in chapter 6.

⁴³³ This is neither surprising nor particularly significant. It seems obvious that if similarities were assessed on the basis of what is uncertain in two texts then virtually any text could be compared favourably with any other.

⁴³⁴ See chapter 3 [P-Job Omission] (21:4).

While it has been suggested with respect to Chronicles that the Syriac translator's ability to cope with a difficult Hebrew text suffers in comparison to that of his targumic counterpart,⁴³⁵ the above analysis does not provide significant substantiation of this suggestion with respect to P-Job and RtgJob. It must be remembered that omission is only one way of presenting the results of the translator's activity [mode of representation] and that addition or substitution may also be employed by the translator when confronted by a text perceived as problematic.⁴³⁶ In light of this, we may only conclude that whereas the translators of 11Q10 and P-Job seem willing to omit elements in order to facilitate their translation of passages which they have perceived to be difficult, the targumist does not provide illustrations of this tendency.

It is quite clear that on some occasions in both 11Q10 and P-Job, a textual minus has arisen under the influence of a prior translation decision. In other words, the omission of a given element seems to follow as a result of the translator's attempt to provide an idiomatic expression in light of a modification in the immediate co-text. The general impression suggested by these examples is that in both the Syriac and Qumran translations, certain elements may be sacrificed in the translation process for the sake of idiomatic fluency. Specifically, both translators show a willingness to pass over prepositions as a result of the perception that their inclusion would not provide the necessary sense in the re-constituted Aramaic text.⁴³⁷ As well, both translators exclude interrogative elements as a result of co-text considerations.⁴³⁸ The focus here is not the nature of the 'prior' modification which has necessitated a given omission. These may range from the translator's alternative verse division to their failure to come to grips with a difficult Hebrew text. Rather the point to be emphasised is that the priority of preserving a for-

⁴³⁵ This seems to be one distinction which M.P. Weitzman, 'Is the Peshitta of Chronicles a Targum?', 193 makes between the targumist and the Syriac translator in their respective renderings of Chronicles.

⁴³⁶ At 38:25 for instance, although the targumist does not omit an element in his translation (like the Syriac translator), the large expansion is clearly provided as a means of making sense of a challenging text. Likewise at 42:11 where the Qumran translator resolves an irregular Hebrew text through omission, the targumist's full representation of each element of the source text is facilitated by means of supplementation.

⁴³⁷ 11Q10: 37:18, P-Job: 35:11.

mal one-to-one rendering is overridden in the Qumran and Syriac translations not only when a given element is perceived as inappropriate or unacceptable, but even when the 'problem' has been created by a modification of the surrounding textual fabric. This would seem to emphasise that the primary priority for both of these translators is intelligibility and idiomatic fluency as well as underlining the suggestion that for them, the primary unit of translation is the phrase rather than the word.⁴³⁹

The topic of idiomatic fluency leads directly to another group of omissions which are found in common in the Qumran and Syriac versions of Job. In some cases it seems to be the very reconstitution of the Hebrew text into the respective Aramaic target dialects which has led to the textual minus, rather than a prior modification of the context. The reconstitution of the source text into Aramaic involves both linguistic and stylistic adaptation. In terms of these categories, elements are apparently omitted because they are perceived by the translator as either not required i.e. constrained stylistically-poetically or not permitted i.e. constrained linguistically, by the form of Aramaic into which the translation is being made. While it is often apparent that a modification is broadly linguistic/stylistic in nature, we must on some occasions be satisfied with locating a given adaptation somewhere on a continuum between the stylistic and the linguistic. Nevertheless, in a few cases, the nature of the omissions within P-Job and 11Q10 suggest that they are more likely to be related to properly linguistic constraints. It is interesting to note that in addition to the Syriac's obvious linguistic tendency to leave the interrogative *he* without representation, the most certain candidates for omission due to language difference between Hebrew and Aramaic/Syriac are again prepositions.⁴⁴⁰

⁴³⁸ P-Job: 34:33 and 11Q10 34:13.

⁴³⁹ M.P. Weitzman, *The Syriac version of the Old Testament*, 22-23 in discussing the issue of segmentation with respect to the relationship between the Hebrew and Syriac texts in the Peshitta, concludes that the translators of the Peshitta proceeded phrase-by-phrase and that the numerous cases of word-for-word correspondence are simply due to the similarity of structure of Hebrew and Syriac.

⁴⁴⁰ For numerous examples of the omission of interrogative *heh* see discussion of 38:28 in chapter 3 above. Prepositions omitted due to language difference are found in 11Q10 (34:30) and P-Job (30:16). In the case of P-Job's omission of prepositions at 33:28, 33:30 and 36:9 it is difficult to disentangle stylistic and linguistic considerations.

While a few modifications are best understood as linguistically required by the difference between the source language (Hebrew) and the target languages of 11Q10 and P-Job, other omissions which occur in these texts are not as regular in their implementation. Constraints which mean that an element is omitted in one text, yet preserved elsewhere in the Aramaic translation in virtually an identical co-text suggest that the issue is less one of linguistic constraint than stylistic preference. In other words, this type of irregularity speaks not of a linguistic constraint but rather suggests that some elements have been in some sense passed over voluntarily by the translators of the Qumran and Syriac versions of Job in an attempt to provide an idiomatic Aramaic rendering of the Hebrew text of Job. Specifically while the translators of 11Q10 and P-Job show a willingness to represent the Hebrew particle וְ on some occasions in Job, these translators are also willing and able to leave it unrepresented in their Aramaic translations if it is perceived as stylistically superfluous.⁴⁴¹ These instances clearly show that the stylistic constraint of economy of expression has in this case overridden any commitment the Qumran and Syriac translators' might have felt to furnish an Aramaic equivalent for each element in the Hebrew text. Indeed the above analysis clearly illustrates that the perception of stylistic superfluousness in these two versions is not limited to minor particles.⁴⁴² The breakdown of elements omitted by these two versions suggests that while both the translator of 11Q10 and that of P-Job perceive elements in the source text as redundant, they differ in terms of which type of elements are more frequently perceived as such. While the Qumran translator tends to omit more suffixes⁴⁴³ and verbs or verbal phrases⁴⁴⁴ than his Syriac counterpart, the Peshitta translator is willing to omit a wider range of elements as surplus to requirements⁴⁴⁵ and appears to do so on a more sustained

⁴⁴¹ See for instance 11Q10 (35:14, 36:29) P-Job (34:12).

⁴⁴² While some omissions are due to general stylistic preferences, the clearest examples of omissions due to redundancy are those in which a synonymous or nearly synonymous element precedes, in close textual proximity, the one which has been omitted (thereby explaining the translator's perception of redundancy).

⁴⁴³ (11Q10) 36:29, 40:8, 19:17, 29:10 (P-Job) 38:29.

⁴⁴⁴ (11Q10) 33:24, 40:12, 41:9, 42:11, 42:10 (P-Job) 39:2.

⁴⁴⁵ See for instance P-Job's perception of redundancy and resulting omission of another prepositional phrase at 38:26 and an interrogative pronoun at 39:5.

basis (39:2-5) than does the translator responsible for 11Q10. The translators, however, are roughly similar in their perception and omission of nouns or noun phrases as redundant or superfluous.⁴⁴⁶

It is perhaps at this juncture that mention should be made of the two omissions found in RtgJob. On first glance, the two instances do not seem to be related in terms of motivation or cause. In one case the potential ambiguity of the Hebrew text has apparently required the omission of a preposition, while in the other case a prior addition (theological-ideological motivation) has required that an element be omitted in order to avoid the production of a nonsensical Aramaic translation in the targum text. These types of modifications do find parallels in the Qumran and Syriac versions, and might well have been discussed above, but the exceptional nature of these modifications by the targumist prompts us to search for a fuller explanation for their implementation in the targum. The fact that the targumist does not rely on omission elsewhere in order to resolve perceived ambiguities may suggest that the translator has perceived these particular instances of potential ambiguity as being particularly acute. And in fact, when consideration is given to the context of both of these examples it seems that both of RtgJob's two unique omissions are made in order to resolve a potentially uncomfortable ambiguity with respect to the deity.⁴⁴⁷

Although two of the three omissions found in the targum of Job seem to be special cases concerned with the avoidance of particularly acute problems of ambiguity, it seems safe to conclude that as a rule, omission is not an adjustment utilised by the targumist in the production of the *targum* translation. In the Aramaic translations of 11Q10 and P-Job, on the other hand, omission seems to be employed as a means of providing their respective readers with linguistically intelligible and stylistically acceptable Aramaic renderings. Indeed, in terms of locating the Aramaic versions' use of omission

⁴⁴⁶ (11Q10) 35:11, 38:26, 37:12, 42:10 (P-Job) 35:7, 39:24, 27:17, 36:25.

⁴⁴⁷ In 31:28, the targumist must omit a preposition in order to avoid supplying an Aramaic translation which would result in 'cringing' rather than 'denying or lying to' the deity. In 42:5, the adverb is removed in order to allow the Aramaic translator's theologically acceptable rendering 'but my eyes *do not* see you (i.e., the deity)' to make coherent sense.

within the context of general translation theory, we see that many of the omissions found in the Qumran and Syriac versions of Job can be accounted for within the framework of linguistic-stylistic adjustments. Omission due to the perceived redundancy of synonymous terms (as we have just seen amply illustrated in 11Q10 and P-Job) is a linguistic-stylistic adjustment recognised by the modern translation theorist.⁴⁴⁸ Similarly, it is recognised that translators must often take into account the fact that constraints with regard to explicitness and implicitness may vary between source and target language. Such an awareness is evident in the Qumran and Syriac translators' omission of suffixes and nouns of reference. While there is no sign in the *targum* translation of any propensity toward the omission of a given element as a result of its perceived redundancy, it should be emphasised that this is not the same as saying that the targumist does not perceive redundancy in the text.⁴⁴⁹ Rather, it can only be concluded that on those occasions when a redundancy is felt to be present in the Hebrew text, it is not grounds for omission on the part of the targumist but instead, often gives rise to expansion or elaboration according to midrashic principles.⁴⁵⁰

If certain qualitative differences are evident between 11Q10/P-Job and RtgJob in terms of their use of omission, what may be said regarding quantitative assessment? A precisely accurate quantitative assessment of omission is not only a conceptually difficult task but also a largely unnecessary one in light of the dozens of examples provided by 11Q10 and P-Job on one hand and the virtual lack of instances found in the Rabbinic Tg of Job on the other.⁴⁵¹ It is evident that in the case of the Qumran and Peshitta translations, omission is employed on a frequent basis for a variety of reasons in the attempt to produce a linguistically intelligible and stylistically acceptable translation. In

⁴⁴⁸ E. Nida, *Toward a Science of Translating*, 231.

⁴⁴⁹ R. Weiss, *התרגום הארמי לספר איוב*, 233-34 provides a list of redundancies perceived by the targumist in the Hebrew of Job: 3:26, 4:7,11, 5:10, 14:18, 22, 15:10, 22:19, 25:6, 37:6, 38:23.

⁴⁵⁰ R. Weiss, *התרגום הארמי לספר איוב*, 233. For midrashic parallels to some of these verses see *ad loc.* in C. Mangan, *The Targum of Job*.

⁴⁵¹ The uncertain nature of some omissions in 11Q10, the question of whether to count words, characters, instances of omission or indeed verses in which omission takes place are just a sample of the variables which would complicate a thorough-going quantitative assessment of omission.

contrast to the situation in these translations, the Rabbinic targum of Job presents virtually no evidence for such a practise and omits elements in translation extremely rarely and only to alleviate acute cases of perceived ambiguity.⁴⁵²

⁴⁵² As Lord Atkin clarified, 'A rule is not proved by exceptions unless the exceptions themselves lead one to infer a rule' (E. Gowers, [ed.] Fowler's *Modern English Usage*, 176). These exceptions found in RtgJob do not of course *prove* the rule of targumic non-omission. They do however call our attention to, and heighten by contrast, the targumist's lack of omission which might otherwise pass unnoticed.

PART TWO

TRANSPOSITION

CHAPTER 6

11Q10

Having looked at the phenomenon of minuses or omissions in the Aramaic versions of Job, we now turn our attention toward translation divergence of a different sort. In cases of transposition in translation, while the basic elements of the original text are preserved in the rendering(s), the order in which these elements appear diverges from that found in the putative source text.⁴⁵³ If the word order constraints of a target language are identical to that of the source language, or flexible enough to reproduce the source text word order without stylistic strain, then we might well be faced with a situation of zero variation. In the present case, however, the fact that Hebrew and Aramaic (of whatever dialect) are related and cognate languages does not entail that they are subject to the same word order constraints.⁴⁵⁴ It seems reasonable then that our evaluation of the Aramaic translators' treatment of their Hebrew source text should pay particular attention to deviations from its word order. As was the case with the treatment of omission, we are concerned with the following questions:

1. Do the Aramaic versions diverge from their putative source text in terms of the order of elements presented?
2. If so, what cause may be established for these transpositions?⁴⁵⁵

⁴⁵³ See E. Nida, *Toward a Science of Translating*, 235 for several examples of the impact of word order constraints on modern Bible translation.

⁴⁵⁴ See C. Brockelmann *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der Semitischen Sprachen* (Band II) (Hildesheim, 1961) 432-3.

⁴⁵⁵ The form of this question differs from the corresponding question posed in our analysis of omission for an important reason. As will become clear in the course of the following discussion, in a case of transposition the elements of the source text will be retained (albeit dislocated) in the rendering but it is often impossible to specify which of the rearranged grammatical elements has been 'transposed'. To take a hypothetical example, if the MT word order V-S-O is transformed to S-V-O it is possible to conclude that V has been 'brought forward' so as to be adjacent to O. On the other hand it is equally possible that S has been 'pulled back' as it were, under a word order constraint which requires that S take the initial position in the clause. For this reason, while recurring patterns may be noted below, the concern to classify the

3. What light, if any, does the phenomenon of transposition shed on the question of the relationship between the Aramaic versions of Job?

But before proceeding with an analysis of the texts with a view to answering these questions, we must give consideration to some of the methodological issues which inform the following discussion.

While study of word order in a given language may take the approach of seeking to investigate and elucidate a range of dominant and secondary word order constraints in the target language before turning to the translation, recent investigation into word order discrepancies between the Greek versions and the Masoretic Text of the Hebrew Bible have concluded that it is rather the supposed Hebrew source text which must serve as the starting point for any analysis.⁴⁵⁶ But it is of course at this point that the indeterminacy of the study of ancient versions makes its presence felt for an ancient translation's word order 'deviation' may of course be merely a reflection of an already existing word order variation in the Hebrew text which lay before the translator (so long as this 'variant' word order does not somehow violate the word-order constraints of the Hebrew.) Alternatively, there is the possibility that at some point in the history of the translation's transmission, a variant word order has been introduced into the text which is quite at odds with both the source text and the original literal translation. Keeping all of the above considerations in mind, it does also seem reasonable to assume that some word order discrepancies between a translation and a source text have arisen in the process of translation.⁴⁵⁷ Of these latter word order divergences attributable to the translator's intervention, a distinction (if at times only a theoretical one) may be drawn between those introduced as a result of stylistic preference and others which are linguistically

'element' which has been transposed is both more problematic and less urgent.

⁴⁵⁶ As opposed to, for instance, beginning with the target language and noting deviations from a 'regular' word order. The problem with the latter approach is that in languages with a comparatively free word-order the determination of 'normal word order' is far from straightforward and requires an exhaustive grammatical analysis of language or literature of a non-translational nature. On this point both G. Marquis 'Word Order as a Criterion for the Evaluation of Translation Technique in the LXX and the Evaluation of Word-Order Variants as exemplified in LXX-Ezekiel' *Textus* 13 (1986) 67) and S. Olofsson, 'Studying the Word Order of the Septuagint: Questions and Possibilities' *SJOT* 10 (2) 220) agree.

⁴⁵⁷ These three possible sources of word-order deviation are agreed upon by G. Marquis, 'Word Order as a

constrained by the target language. As Oloffson makes clear, if the word order of a given target language is fixed, deviations from the source text in translation reveal only the word order constraints of the target language (properly linguistic constraints) rather than the stylistic preferences of the translator.⁴⁵⁸ While in the case of several dialects of Aramaic, the word order is generally characterised as 'free',⁴⁵⁹ Szpek has discovered that with this 'freedom' of word-order comes added complexity and the difficulty of distinguishing between linguistic and stylistic motivations. While consistency of modification throughout a text, parallels in other Aramaic texts, and conformity to 'rules' of Aramaic grammar are of course factors which would push a given transposition toward the 'linguistic' end of the linguistic-stylistic continuum, variation (particularly in close proximity) and a lack of parallels in the other Aramaic translations would speak against such a judgement and suggest that the transposition has rather resulted from the translator's stylistic preference.⁴⁶⁰ While distinguishing between the three basic causes for word order deviation in translation may at times be difficult, certain instances will seem clearly to belong to one or another of these categories. Furthermore as Marquis has noted, a certain number of modifications best explained in linguistic-stylistic terms may shed light on others whose sources are less clearly discerned.⁴⁶¹ While further methodological comments will be provided as appropriate, the above considerations must be

Criterion', 67 and S. Oloffson, 'Studying the Word Order', 222.

⁴⁵⁸ For S. Oloffson, 'Studying the Word Order', 221 only optional modifications properly belong in discussions of translation technique.

⁴⁵⁹ E.M. Cook, 'Word Order in the Aramaic of Daniel' *Afro-Asiatic Linguistics* 9 (3) (1986) 15 gives explicit voice to what may be the implied comparative element of this characterisation: 'Compared to Hebrew, [DA's] word order is remarkably free, although both languages have a comparable set of devices to reduce ambiguity.' The general tendency has been to see 'freeness' of word order as being particularly associated with Eastern Aramaic. With regard to Syriac for instance T. Nöldeke, *Kurzgefasste Syrische Grammatik*, § 248 concludes 'Die Stellung der Haupttheile des Satzes zu einander ist sehr frei.' Whether BA represents Eastern Aramaic (Kutscher) or not (Rowley) the consensus is that the word order of BA is also 'free'.

⁴⁶⁰ In light of the possibility that different books within a translation corpus (i.e. targumic, Peshitta, LXX) may have been translated by different translators (for Peshitta see M.P. Weitzman, *The Syriac version of the Old Testament*, 203) the first order comparison is made *within* each text before extending the search for parallel forms/treatment outside the translations of Job. On the subject of variation in Syriac translation see I. Avinery, 'Problèmes de Variation dans la Traduction Syriaque du Pentateuque' *Semitica* 25 (1975) 105-9.

⁴⁶¹ G. Marquis 'Word Order as a Criterion', 68.

taken into account as we move to an evaluation of transposition in the Aramaic versions of Job.

Transposition in 11Q10

While word order in the Qumran translation has not received much attention in comparison with some other features of the text, S. Kaufman noted in his fine review article of the *editio princeps* that the Qumran translator ‘...was not bound to the word order of MT as is almost always the case in the later targums’.⁴⁶² The format and focus of his treatment of 11Q10 meant that Kaufman’s illustration of this assessment was limited to the presentation of a single case, namely 11Q10’s translation of MT 21:6.⁴⁶³ In fact, Kaufman was not alone in noticing discrepancies between the word order shown in the Qumran translation and that of the MT. Takamitsu Muraoka, on turning his attention to the question of the time and place of 11Q10’s composition, made a dialectal case for the translation’s origins in the East.⁴⁶⁴ Suggestive of such a provenance were the several instances where the divergent word order of the Qumran translation seemed to Muraoka to reflect ‘sumero-akkadian’ word order rather than a ‘genuine Semitic’ syntactic arrangement. In support of this position, Muraoka marshalled several examples of 11Q10’s divergent word order *vis-à-vis* the MT.⁴⁶⁵ His useful contribution to the subject, however, was undoubtedly never intended as a comprehensive investigation and therefore the present study seeks to evaluate the examples cited by Muraoka alongside other instances of transposition in 11Q10 and the other Aramaic versions of Job.⁴⁶⁶

⁴⁶² S.A. Kaufman, ‘The Job Targum from Qumran’, 324. Although here referring to ‘later targums’ Kaufman makes no specific reference to RtgJob in his study. His primary text (or grammar) for comparison is 1QGap.

⁴⁶³ See discussion of the Aramaic versions’ treatment of 21:26 below.

⁴⁶⁴ T. Muraoka, ‘The Aramaic of the Old Targum’, 425-443.

⁴⁶⁵ Interestingly, Job 21:6, the lone example cited by S.A. Kaufman, ‘The Job Targum from Qumran’, 324 does not appear in Muraoka’s list of examples despite seeming to admirably support his case. See discussion *ad loc.*

⁴⁶⁶ Indeed, a comparison with P-Job (a text composed in a language which at the very least manifests ‘Eastern’ affinities) would seem certain to shed significant light on the word order component of Muraoka’s argument.

If our investigation of omission in the Qumran translation was qualified to some extent by the fragmentary preservation of the manuscript, the same may be said for the evaluation of transposition. As was noted at the beginning of that discussion the lack of a translation corresponding to an element in the Hebrew text may be due either to its genuine absence in 11Q10 or, alternatively, to its transposition to a portion of the Aramaic version which has since been lost to the elements. Of course, if the preserved portion of 11Q10 displayed no cases of transposition, any such ambiguity would disappear and we would be safe in assuming that the absence of an element in the translation was indeed an omission rather than a transposition now lost from view. As we will see, such is not the case for the preserved portion of 11Q10 does indeed show clear cases of word order discrepancy and thus, to begin with, we must at least take up the cases where the fragmentary nature of the manuscript prevents absolute certainty.

30:3 בְּחָסֶר וּבְכַפֹּן גִּלְמוֹד הָעֵרְקִים צִיָּה אֶמֶשׁ שׁוֹאָה וּמִשְׁאָה:

11Q10 [(?) ... ובכפן] רעין הוא ירק [(?) ...] xv, 8 [ו...] באישה

RtgJob בחוסרנא ובאולצנא דלא ולד הוון ערקין רשיעיא בארע

צחיא/צהייא חשיכא היך רמשא אתר שיוחא/שווחא ורגושתא:

(no translation preserved) P-Job

They are gaunt with want and famine; They gnaw the dry ground, in the gloom of wasteness and desolation. ASV

Through want and hard hunger () they gnaw the dry and desolate ground; RSV

While the lack of a Syriac translation of this verse has already been discussed above, here our attention is focused on the treatment of the rare Hebrew lexeme גִּלְמוֹד 'hard, lifeless, barren'. If, as seems likely, [(?) ... ובכפן] should be reconstructed as an equivalent for MT וּבְכַפֹּן, then we are left to determine how the remainder of the Qumran translation corresponds to the Hebrew of the MT (גִּלְמוֹד הָעֵרְקִים צִיָּה).⁴⁶⁷ It seems most likely that the

⁴⁶⁷ B.E. Zuckerman, *The Process of Translation*, 543-548 provides an exhaustive discussion of the possibilities.

Qumran translator's rendering of גִּלְמוֹד 'barren' has either been transposed to the head of the verse (and now lost) or simply omitted. The main argument for such a supposition is that the following text (רעין הוא ירק) 'they were grazing on the greenery...' seems more likely to be a rendering (albeit a none too literal one) of MT הָעֵרְקִים.⁴⁶⁸ The translator's selection of Aramaic רעי 'to pasture, graze' would seem to fit with an interpretation of the Hebrew term as 'to gnaw'.⁴⁶⁹ In this case ירק 'greenery (of the desert?)' would constitute either an addition made by the translator in order to supply an object for his Aramaic verbal phrase or as Duhm has suggested quite independently of the Qumran translation, the original MT text read ירק in precisely this location.⁴⁷⁰ The Rabbinic targumist by contrast preserves an equivalent of גִּלְמוֹד in an order corresponding to the Hebrew text. The targumist's interpretation has perhaps been influenced by Job 3:7 and Isaiah 49:21 where this lexeme גִּלְמוֹד is used in contexts which connect it with maternal barrenness for the translation offered here דלא ולד 'without child' is less ambiguous and more prosaic.⁴⁷¹ In the case of the fragmentary Qumran translation then, we are left uncertain as to whether a rendering of the Hebrew lexeme has even taken place, let alone its particular character. It may well have been transposed to the beginning of the verse (as the English ASV translators of the Hebrew have done) but there are no solid grounds for ruling out its

⁴⁶⁸ B.E. Zuckerman, *The Process of Translation*, 546 here agrees with M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 124-5. The Hebrew root ערק may be cognate to Syriac and Aramaic roots having the meaning 'to gnaw' or alternatively be related to Syr. (pa''el) and Aramaic 'to flee'. See E. Dhorme, *A Commentary on the Book of Job*, 431; R. Gordis, *The Book of Job*, 330.

⁴⁶⁹ The spelling of הוּא for a 3rd masc. pl. pf. verbal form is unprecedented in Aramaic. B.E. Zuckerman, *The Process of Translation*, 548 suggests a copyist's omission of the expected waw is due to confusion of consonantal and vocalic waw occurring sequentially.

⁴⁷⁰ B. Duhm, *Das Buch Hiob*, 141.

⁴⁷¹ His interpretation of the verbal form derived from ערק as הוּן ערקין רשיעיא 'the evil (ones) were fleeing' shows the provision of a 3rd masc. pl. form of הוי. This addition is parallel to that of 11Q10, but while the Qumran rendering includes a clarification of the object of the verb, the RtgJob's text provides a clarification of the unstated subjects (here as elsewhere identified by the targumist as 'the evil ones'); Cases such as 36: 5, 8 and others like them (e.g. 6:10, 34:26 T2) seem to suggest that the themes of 'righteousness' and 'wickedness' are of particular importance to the targumist. (See C. Mangan, *The Targum of Job*, 33 n.11).

omission altogether or indeed its transposition to an alternate position as is the case in the English RSV.

23:2 גַּם-הַיּוֹם מָרַי שְׁתִּי יָדִי כְבֶּדָה עַל-אַנְחָתִי:

11Q10 אַף יוֹמָא דִּן [...] מִן טַלְל (____) שְׁעוֹתֵי דִּי viia,3 (?) תַּנְחַתִּי

RtgJob לַחוּד יוֹמָא מְרִיר מִיִּמְרֵי מַחַתִּי תַקְפַּת עַל תּוֹנַחַתִּי:

P-Job אַפּ מַחַד מַדּוּ צַמְמַם, אַמְדּוּ מַדּוּ בַּל אִשְׁתֵּם.

Today also (____) my complaint is bitter; his hand is heavy despite my groaning. NRSV

With the exception of one manuscript witness, the targum of Job provides an equivalent (מְרִיר) for Hebrew 'bitter' in a location which corresponds to the MT.⁴⁷² The translator of the Syriac version also follows the word-order of the Hebrew here, translating this sole occurrence of the Hebrew noun in Job with a verbal form מַדּוּ 'was bitter'—perhaps in order to produce a verbal clause in parallel with v.2b⁴⁷³ When we turn to the Qumran text, however, we see that 11Q10's now only partially preserved rendering of 23:2 suggests that the translator has understood the verse not as two independent propositions but rather as a subordinate construction (causal clause) beginning with מִן טַלְל 'because'.⁴⁷⁴ Again, due to the fragmentary state of the Qumran text, it is unclear whether the translator of 11Q10 has omitted or merely transposed his rendering of MT מָרַי 'bitter'. If, as the editors of *DJD* 23 have supposed, the lacuna preceding מִן טַלְל [...] should contain an equivalent to the Hebrew גַּם-הַיּוֹם there may be insuffi-

⁴⁷² The sole exception is MS 7 (See D.M. Stec, *The Text of the Targum of Job*, 157).

⁴⁷³ G. Rignell, *The Peshitta to the Book of Job*, 185; H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 278 suggests that this modification stems from the translator's confusion of nominal and verbal forms of מָרַי. It is difficult to adjudicate between these two alternatives and it is not impossible that both causes may have played a part in P-Job's translation.

⁴⁷⁴ Various vocalised forms of מִטַּל appear in both Jewish and Christian Palestinian Aramaic. See F. Martinez *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 11*, 102 for other Aramaic forms of this preposition. Incidentally, R. Gordis, *The Book of Job*, 254 also renders this as a subordinate construction in his English translation of the Hebrew.

cient space for a rendering of מְרִי.⁴⁷⁵ Further weight is perhaps added to an argument for reconstructing an equivalent in the *following* lacuna by the presence of רִי following שְׁעוֹתֵי.⁴⁷⁶ Although it is impossible to be certain what followed this form, the appearance of the relative would obviously suggest a qualification of the preceding construction. This qualification may well have taken the form of an Aramaic equivalent of מְרִי, but unless further textual material is found this suggestion remains a purely hypothetical one.⁴⁷⁷

37:18 תִּרְקִיעַ עֲמֹל לְשִׁחָקִים חֲזָקִים כְּרָאִי מוֹצֵק:
 11Q10 [(העממה?) ת]נפח ערפלא xxix, 9 [.....] ה עקה
 RtgJob תרקע עמיה לשחקי תקיפין וחזותהון היך
 אספלידא/איספקלירא סביבא/סנינא:
 P-Job הלוזסמב חמס לוזסמב אספא לחסמב אבנא.

Can you, like him, spread out (____) the skies, hard as a molten mirror? NRSV

With Him, have you spread out (____) the skies, Strong as a cast metal mirror? NKJ

⁴⁷⁵ The editors of F. Martinez *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 11*, 101 have suggested reconstructing אִף יִמָּא דִן (RtgJob MS 1 also supplies דִן). However, P-Job אפ גמא might also be plausibly reconstructed.

⁴⁷⁶ In rendering MT שְׁתִּי 'complaint, thought' the translator of RtgJob has substituted מִימְרֵי. As is the case with the translations of 11Q10 and P-Job (גממה/שעותי) the targumist's use of מִימְרֵי in this context as an equivalent for Job's bitter complaint precludes any specific and intentional use of this term here as an anti-anthropomorphism. In other cases in RtgJob this Hebrew lexeme is most often translated with a similarly generic term (e.g. 21:4 מִלְתִּי [see also 7:13, 9:27, 10:1etc.]) and thus it seems that although the use of the word here appears to have the effect of softening the translation ('my bitter complaint' > RtgJob 'my bitter word') there does not seem to be a theological motive behind this substitution which may instead have been the result of confusion arising from semantic shift: in later usage in Hebrew and Aramaic שְׁתִּיהָ seemed to lose much of its plaintive denotation and has come to mean in many contexts, 'conversation'. For references to usage in Middle Hebrew see KB³ (3) 1321. E. Shoshan, *The New Dictionary* (Heb.) (Jerusalem, 1968) (7) 2672 (1) 'דבור עים רעהו'.

⁴⁷⁷ As is clear from the NRSV's rendering, some English translators do not introduce the relative in this situation but do provide the predicate adjective *following* rather than preceding the qualified noun.

While the Qumran translation's lack of a preposition before ערפלא (MT: לשחקים) has already been discussed, we are here concerned with the translator's representation of the preceding suffixed preposition (עמו 'with him'). Although both the targum and the Syriac translation provide the expected Aramaic representation of this element in an order corresponding to that of the Hebrew text, the Qumran translation shows no text between what is clearly a rendering of an initial verbal form (תנפח) 'you inflate' and the following direct object (ערפלא 'the fog').⁴⁷⁸ The question again is whether to presume that a transposition has taken place and to reconstruct an equivalent in the surrounding lacunae or to assume that the translator has failed to represent this element of the source text in the Aramaic translation. The original editors of the text clearly favour the latter option proposing [התנרע למ]נפח 'Est-ce que tu sais g]onfler...' as a reconstruction of the beginning of the line.⁴⁷⁹ While the editors of *DJD* 23 admit the possibility of such a construction, they prefer to supply the prepositional phrase (העמה תנפח) (___) ערפלא 'Can you, with Him, inflate the fog...' due to its closer correspondence to the presumed Hebrew *Vorlage*.⁴⁸⁰ Without the appearance of additional fragments, confirmation of either proposal remains impossible, but in some English translations (NRSV, NKJ), the divergences from the Hebrew word order show a preference for preserving the contiguity of the main verb of the clause ('spread out') and the object ('the skies') thereby displacing the prepositional phrase which intervenes in the Hebrew.⁴⁸¹ The latter editors' suggestion of the transposition of the prepositional phrase by the Qumran translator would similarly conform to such constraints and thus, whatever force may be granted to these parallels clearly points in the direction of a dis-

⁴⁷⁸ For discussion of 11Q10's treatment of this somewhat challenging Hebrew text see above (chapter 2, *ad loc.*).

⁴⁷⁹ *Editio princeps*, 69 as well as J. Fitzmyer, and D.J. Harrington, (eds.) *A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts*, 67. This reconstruction has clearly been suggested to the editors by the Qumran translation's treatment of v.16b (התנרע להלבשא עננה) in the preceding line (xxix, 7).

⁴⁸⁰ F. Martinez *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 11*, 148.

⁴⁸¹ In the case of the NRSV the prepositional phrase is allowed to split the auxiliary ('can you') and main ('spread out') verbs but not permitted to intervene between main verb and object.

Aramaic translations, with this direct object immediately following the verbal element. It is clear that a modification has taken place but there is little certainty regarding whether the Qumran translator has transposed the equivalent of the preposition **עַלִּי** or simply eliminated it. On one hand, it is worth remembering that the translator felt free to omit this same preposition in his renderings of Job 29:7 and 34:13 where they could not be integrated into an idiomatic rendering of the Hebrew. But it is equally possible that an Aramaic equivalent was simply transposed to the portion of the text lost in the lacuna. Clear transpositions (see 36: 25, 28 below) do occur in the textual vicinity and the parallel English renderings here show that the MT can prompt divergences of word order in translation without appreciable loss of meaning. Although the previous example is equally fragmentary, it too shows the loss of a preposition which, in the Hebrew, occurs between a verb and its corresponding direct object. Despite the fact that there is a clear divergence from the Hebrew here, there is little concrete evidence to support a transposition as opposed to an omission (or indeed vice versa).

21:25 וְזֶה יָמוּת בְּנֶפֶשׁ מְרָה וְלֹא-אָכַל בְּטוֹבָה: 21:26 יָחַד עַל-עֵפֶר
 11Q10 דִּן יָמוּת בְּנֶפֶשׁ ... [v, 6] [לְאֹכֵל (בְּטֹבָה?)] כְּחֹדֶה עַל
 RtgJob וְדִין יָמוּת בְּנֶפֶשׁ מְרִירָא וְלֹא אָכַל בְּטֹבָה:
 P-Job מֵא נַחֲמֵס בְּנֶפֶשׁ מְרָה. מֵא אֵל בְּטֹבָה.

Another dies in bitterness of soul, never having tasted of good. RSV

Both the translator of the Syriac version and the targumist responsible for RtgJob follow the MT (בְּטוֹבָה) in concluding their translations with Aramaic renderings 'of good' (בְּטֹבָה/בְּטֹבָה). The partially preserved Qumran translation clearly shows a representation of at least part of 21:25b, but the Aramaic element which precedes the beginning of verse 26 (כְּחֹדֶה עַל...) is the verbal component of the clause

(ל[א אכל).⁴⁸⁴ Clearly, if the Qumran translator has represented Hebrew בְּטוֹבָה its equivalent must have been transposed to that part of the manuscript preceding the preserved portion. What would suggest a transposition here rather than an omission? First, the translator may have been influenced by the numerous instances of verb-final word order in the verses preceding this one.⁴⁸⁵ On the other hand, we have seen in our discussion of the verse *immediately* preceding this one (21:24 [chapter 2]) that the translator appears to *avoid* a verb final word order and this certainly complicates any suggestion that the transposition here stems from a uniform preference for verb-final word order.⁴⁸⁶ It is of course slightly simplistic to assume that because it is the verbal form (ל[א אכל) which happens to be preserved in the fragmentary text, it is necessarily this form which is the prime cause of the apparent transposition. Indeed, of the three places where בְּטוֹבָה is employed in the Hebrew text of Job, the Qumran translator shows divergent word order in both places where a rendering is preserved.⁴⁸⁷ Although these other transpositions of בְּטוֹבָה do not seem to shed much light on the present case, their very existence may suggest that, lacking a more fully preserved text, the supposition of a transposition of the missing 'good' in the Qumran version here is at least not unreasonable.

34:7 מִי־גִבֹּר כְּאִיּוֹב יִשְׁתֶּה־לְעַג כְּמַיִם: 34:8 וְאַרְבָּה לְחִכָּהָ עִם־פְּעָלֶי אֲוֹן
 11Q10 מִן כְּמִי־אֵל חֲטִיא (34:8) וּמִתַּחֲבֵר xxiv, 2 לְעַבְדֵי שָׁקֶר
 RtgJob מִן גְּבִירָה הֵךְ אִיּוֹב דְּשִׁתִּי דוּחַכָּא הֵךְ מִיָּא:
 P-Job מִיָּא גְּבִירָה אִיּוֹב דְּשִׁתִּי דוּחַכָּא הֵךְ מִיָּא חֲטִיא.

What man is like Job, who drinks scorn like water? NIV

⁴⁸⁴ F. Martinez *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 11*, 96 read what would seem to be the *alaph* of the negative particle.

⁴⁸⁵ See for example 21:20, 21, 22, 24. See discussion of 11Q10's translation of 21:24 in Ch. 2, Part One.

⁴⁸⁶ In the same way, while T. Muraoka, 'The Aramaic of the Old Targum', 440-441 is correct to point out the (O)-V (vs. MT V-O) order here in verse 25, the existence of an apparently reverse modification (V-S/O) vs. (MT S-V) in such close proximity would seem to problematize suggestions of a pervasive tendency in 11Q10 toward a post-positioning of the verb in the clause.

⁴⁸⁷ See discussion of 36:11 below for the relationship between these renderings and 21:13 (not preserved in 11Q10).

Although at 34:7 the Qumran text again presents a fragmentary text, there seems to be good reason to assume that a transposition has in fact taken place. Where the targumist and Syriac translators follow the Hebrew in providing the expected Aramaic equivalents for the comparative particle (ܐܕܝܢ/וְיִד) and the vehicle of the simile (ܡܝܐ/מֵי), the Qumran translator supplies a different text. Because commentators have agreed that the Qumran version has translated MT לַעַג ‘contempt, scorn’ with a more generic Aramaic equivalent, חַטִּיָּא ‘sins’⁴⁸⁸ it seems likely that the preceding *alaph* should be seen as the final character in מֵי. This suggestion would mean that while the Qumran translator has preserved the basic form and content of the simile present in the Hebrew, the Aramaic equivalent of the simile is presented in the Qumran text in an inverse order (ܡܝܐ ܕܚܬܝܐ). The Hebrew of Job does in fact provide examples of בְּמִים preceding rather than following the tenor of the simile and, in the case of one of these (27:20), the Qumran translator apparently feels no qualms about reproducing this ‘inverted’ word order in his Aramaic translation. (ܬܫܝܓܝܗܢ ܒܡܝܡ ܒܠܗܘܬ) xi, 11 [... ܕܡܝܐ ܒܐܝܫ] [...]). Further weight is added to the suggestion of a transposition here by another instance of this ‘inverted’ order. In fact the latter portion of Job 15:16 (ܫܬܗ ܒܡܝܡ ܥܘܠܗ) ‘(a man) who drinks like water, sin’ bears such a striking resemblance to what seems likely to have been 11Q10’s translation, that the similarities of verb and vehicle (ܒܡܝܡ ‘like water’) may have prompted the translator to harmonise his rendering here with that of 15:16.⁴⁸⁹

As was the case with the examination of omission in the Qumran translation, we are, in the above cases, at the mercy of the elements in terms of the preservation of the text. In other cases the investigation is made more straightforward by the fact that con-

⁴⁸⁸ F. Martinez *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 11*, 134. This Aramaic lexeme is also used to translate Heb. פָּשַׁע in the previous verse (34:6). On the Hebrew of this verse see E. Dhorme, *A Commentary on the Book of Job*, 466.

⁴⁸⁹ חַטִּיָּא would of course be an entirely suitable and quite likely translation for עֲוֹלָה at 15:16.

crete textual evidence for a transposition is provided by the manuscript. But while this may facilitate greater certainty regarding the existence of the transposition, it does not necessarily imply greater clarity with respect to the source of the discrepancies.

42:2 וְלֹא־יִבְצֹר מִמֶּנָּה מִזְמָה: 42:3 מִי זֶה מְעַלִּים עֲצָה בְּלִי דַעַת לְכֵן הִגַּדְתִּי וְלֹא
אֶבְיִן נִפְלְאוֹת מִמֶּנִּי וְלֹא אֶדְעַ: 42:4 שְׁמַע־נָא וְאַנְכִּי אֲדַבֵּר אֲשַׁאֲלֶךָ וְהוֹדִיעֲנִי:

11Q10 (42:2)... וְלֹא יִתְבַצֵּר מִנֶּךָ תִּקְףָּ וְחִכְמָה (40:5) חֲדָא מַלְלַת וְלֹא אַתִּיב

וְתַרְתִּין וְעֲלִיהֶן לֹא xxxvii, 6 אוֹסֵף (42:4) שְׁמַע נָא וְאַנְה

אַמְלִל אֲשַׁאֲלֶנֶךָ וְהִתִּיבִנִי

RtgJob (42:2)... וְלֹא יִתְמַנֵּעַ מִנֶּךָ מַחֲשַׁבְתָּא: (42:3) מִן דִּין דְּמַכְסִּי

מַלְכָּתָא מַדְלִית מַדְעָא מִטּוּל הִיכְנָא חוּיְתִי וְלֹא אַתְבִּיין פְּרִישָׁן

וְלֹא אֶדְעַ: (42:4) שְׁמַע כְּדוֹן וְאַנְה אַמְלִל אֲשִׁילְנֶךָ וְתַהוֹדַעְנִי:

P-Job (42:2)... הִלֵּא מַלְאָכָא בְּחַי אֱלֹהִים. (42:3) כֻּנֵּן מִנִּי דְּמַלְאָכָא

אֱלֹהִים כֻּלָּא דִּלֵּא אֱלֹהִים. כֻּלָּא מִנִּי עֲשֵׂהֵם דִּלֵּא אֱלֹהִים. הִלֵּא

בְּחַי דְּמַלְאָכָא בְּחַי. (42:4) צִבְּנֵה הִיא אֱלֹהִים. אֲשַׁלֵּךְ אֶתְבִּיבֵנִי.

42:2 ...and that no purpose of yours can be thwarted.

(40:5 'Once have I spoken but I will not answer, a second time, but to them I will not add.

[MT 40:5] אַתָּה דִּבַּרְתִּי וְלֹא אֶעֱנֶה וְשֵׁנִים וְלֹא אוֹסִיף)

42:3 'Who is this that hides counsel without knowledge?' Therefore I have uttered what I did not understand, things too wonderful for me, which I did not know. 42:4 'Hear, and I will speak; I will question you, and you declare to me.'

Despite the fact that 11Q10 follows the MT quite closely in its rendering of Job 42:1-2 and 4, an Aramaic translation of Job 40:5 has taken the place of 42:3 in the Qumran manuscript.⁴⁹⁰ Although 11Q10's translation preserves only the last word of 40:5 *in situ* (i.e. between 40:4-6) it seems likely that the translator of the Qumran version has included a translation of 40:5 both at its present location in the Hebrew text and here where the Hebrew text preserves the expected 42:3. On the grounds that LXX Job is apparently unaware of a divergent Hebrew text, Tuinstra concludes that the translator of the Qumran

⁴⁹⁰ *Editio princeps*, 84.

text has preferred a less categorical admission of error ('One thing I have spoken which I will not repeat') in place of the Hebrew text here (42:2 '...Indeed I have spoken without understanding, of things too wonderful for me which I did not grasp') in order to preserve the integrity of Job.⁴⁹¹ The later editors of the text present two possible causes for the divergence (alternate *Vorlage* or the translator's ideological/theological objection to the Hebrew text) without preference.⁴⁹² Both the size of the unit transposed and the nature of the transposition make it extremely unlikely that linguistic-stylistic preference has played a role in the present case. However, in addition to the *Vorlage* and ideological/theological explanations a third 'middle' proposal might also be put forward as a possibility. Various scholars have questioned the authenticity of 42:3 as an original element here in Job chapter 42⁴⁹³ and the possibility that 11Q10's *Vorlage* did possess occasional lacunae⁴⁹⁴ make it certainly conceivable that the Aramaic translator of the Qumran text has encountered a Hebrew text deficient at this point and in filling this lacuna has had recourse to material gleaned from earlier in Job. Reconstructing the process by which the translator has imported 40:5 into its present context here in chapter 42 is a necessarily speculative task but it is interesting to note that in 42:4b (which follows the verse in question) the pair of verbal clauses אֲשַׁאֲלֶךָ יְהוָה וְהוֹדִיעֲנִי finds an exact parallel earlier in Job at both 40:7 and at 38:3. It is possible that the translator made good the deficiency he found in his text by comparing the verse following the lacuna with others displaying these verbal links (אֲשַׁאֲלֶךָ יְהוָה וְהוֹדִיעֲנִי). By working back from 40:7 and 38:3 to the preceding verses in these respective contexts, the translator would then be left with the choice of including either 40:5 or 38:2 here between verses 2 and 4 of chapter 42. But if faced with only a lacuna between verses 2 and 4, it is quite easy to see how the translator might well have inserted 40:5 rather than 38:2.⁴⁹⁵

⁴⁹¹ E.W. Tuinstra, *Hermeneutische Aspecten*, 44.

⁴⁹² F. Martinez *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 11*, 169.

⁴⁹³ It is virtually identical to Job's response at 38:2.

⁴⁹⁴ See M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 6-7.

⁴⁹⁵ E. Dhorme, *A Commentary on the Book of Job*, 645 notes that just as 42:1 is parallel to 40:3, so verses 2-6 of chapter 42 are the counterpart of 40:4-5: 'Just as 40:3-5 formed the conclusion of the first speeches

While in the present instance it seems clear that textual difficulty has not been an issue in influencing a transposition, the following case offers no such certainty.

37:16 הַתִּדַּע עַל-מִפְלְשֵׁי-עָב' מִפְּלֹאוֹת תְּמִים דְּעִים:
 37:17 אֲשֶׁר-בְּגָדָיָךְ חֹמִים בְּהִשְׁקָט' אֶרֶץ מְדֻרָּם: 37:18 תִּרְקִיעַ עִמּוֹ לְשַׁחֲקִים
 11Q10 [התנ] דַּע' לִהְלַבְשָׁא עֲנָנָה גְבוּרָה [17a] דִּיל דִּי לְבוּשָׁךְ
 xxix, 8 [] 16b אֲרוּ הוּא יָדַע מִדַּע' (17b) 18 הַעֲמָה [ת] נִפְחָ עֲרִפְלָא
 RtgJob הִידַעְתָּא עַל מִבְּשָׁקְרָנִי {לֹא} קִטְרָא דְּעִיבָא פְּרִישׁוּתָא דְּשָׁלִים מִנְדַּעָא:
 17 דִּי לְבוּשָׁךְ שַׁחֲנִין כַּד מִשְׁדִּיךְ אֲרַעָא מִדְּרוּמָא: 18 תִּרְקַע עִמִּיהָ לְשַׁחֲקִי
 P-Job ܕܝܐ ܐܢܬ ܡܢܦܥ ܕܡܢܐ. ܡܠܚܡܬܐ ܕܕܠܐ ܡܢܦܥ ܡܢܐ ܕܡܢܐ. 17 ܠܡܢܐ
 ܡܢܐ. ܡܠܚܡܐ ܐܕܠܐ ܡܢ ܡܠܚܡܐ. 18 ܡܠܚܡܐ ܡܢܐ ܕܡܢܐ ܕܡܢܐ

Do you know the balancings of the clouds, the wondrous works of the one whose knowledge is perfect, 37:17 you whose garments are hot when the earth is still because of the south wind? 37:18 Can you, like him, spread out the skies... NRSV

The targum and Syriac versions of Job follow the Masoretic text in providing equivalents for verses 16-18 in an order which corresponds to the Hebrew text. This does not appear to be the case, however, in the Qumran text where the original editors noted considerable discrepancies between the Aramaic text and its presumed Hebrew *Vorlage*.⁴⁹⁶ The beginning of 11Q10's translation of 37:16 is identifiable as such though the Hebrew phrase (עַל-מִפְלְשֵׁי-עָב) has apparently proven as challenging to the ancient translators as it has to later exegetes.⁴⁹⁷ RtgJob, for its part, apparently derives its translation {לֹא} קִטְרָא דְּעִיבָא מִבְּשָׁקְרָנִי 'the innermost parts [of the fog] of the cloud') from a reading of פִּלַּשׁ 'to penetrate to the end'—a derivation found also in Rabbinic

of Yahweh, so 42:1-6 concludes the last speeches.'

⁴⁹⁶ *Editio princeps*, 69; M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 145.

⁴⁹⁷ R. Gordis, *The Book of Job*, 430 concludes that the present text (עַל-מִפְלְשֵׁי-עָב) represents a variant (corruption?) of a similar expression at 36:29 (מִפְּרִישֵׁי-עָב) 'the outspreadings of the cloud'. This suggestion of phonetic variation/confusion is strengthened by the fact that both *lamedh* and *resh* are liquids. S.R. Driver and G.B. Gray, *The Book of Job* (II), 293 derive this form from פִּלַּשׁ and arrive at the meaning 'balances of the cloud.'

texts.⁴⁹⁸ The Qumran version provides להלבשא עננה '(do you know how) to clothe his cloud...' apparently under the influence of the following verse 17 where the Hebrew makes mention of garment (בגדִיד) and the translator makes use of the same Aramaic root (לבש). But whereas the targumist and Syriac translator provide their renderings of verse 16b following verse 16a (ܐܬܢܐܢ ܡܢܕܥܐ / ܕܥܫܠܝܡ ܡܢܕܥܐ:) the equivalent of this portion of text in the Qumran version (ארו הוא ידע מדע) is to be found following what appears to be a translation of the beginning of verse 17. The translator appears to transform the MT adjectival phrase תָּמִים דַּעִים 'perfect in knowledge' into a full blown verbal clause ('because/ behold it is he who has knowledge' (א)רו הוא ידע מדע). Supplying the first three words based on the context, the translator then concludes with a rendering of MT דַּעִים.⁴⁹⁹ The fact that the translator makes use of the same Aramaic root (לבש) in the now contiguous 16a and 17b may suggest that the translator is simply attempting to make sense of what he found to be a difficult text. Indeed, the relative pronoun at the beginning of the Hebrew text of 37:17 (אֲשֶׁר-בְּגָדֶיךָ תָּמִים) may represent the addressee ('Do you know...') or the clouds referred to in v.16 or, alternatively, it may be a temporal reference 'when'.⁵⁰⁰ While this potential for ambiguity and confusion has presumably led the translator of P-Job to omit it in translation, 11Q10 has provided a substitution/addition ב[רִילִי דִי 'since/because' in order to more clearly delineate the syntactic relationship with the preceding.⁵⁰¹ The seemingly insufficient space for a rendering of the latter half of 37:17 may also be related to this transposition but offers little in terms of explanation. Thus, while there is little doubt that a dislocation has

⁴⁹⁸ See R. Gordis, *The Book of Job*, 430 and R. Weiss, התרגום הארמי לספר איוב, 165.

⁴⁹⁹ This is suggested by the similarity evident between the Aramaic versions at this point (11Q10: מַדַּעְ RtgJob: מַדַּעְ P-Job: ܡܢܕܥܐ).

⁵⁰⁰ R. Gordis, *The Book of Job*, 430.

⁵⁰¹ The lacuna at the beginning of the line prevents confirmation of this latter suggestion. See M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 145 for discussion of the significance of this Aramaic conjunction in terms of the history of Aramaic.

taken place here, there is no decisive evidence which will allow us to be certain of the reasons for this divergence from the Masoretic text.

As with the previous cases, the examples which follow are clearly instances of transposition. In some of the cases, the causes which have led to the transposition are comparatively clear-cut but in other instances the new word order is more likely to have been the result of a more complex interaction of causes which are not easily disentangled.

31:29 אִם-אֶשְׂמַח בְּפִיד מְשָׁנָאִי וְהִתְעַנְּתִי כִּי-מָצְאוֹ רָע:

11Q10 [וְהִתְעַנְּתִי] לִלְת xix, 4 עַל בְּאִשְׁתִּי] א

לוֹטִי וַיִּשְׁמַע] ... [בְּרִגְזִי xix, 5 וְאַחֲדָתָא

RtgJob אִין חֲדָתִי בְּצִעְרָא דְּשָׁנָאִי וַיִּבְבִּית וְשִׁבְחִית אַרוֹם עֲרֵעִיָּה בִישׁ:

T2 אִין אַחֲדִי בְּמַעֲוִיָּה דְּשָׁנָאִי נִיכִיבִית אַרוֹם אֲרֵעִיָּה בִישִׁיא:

T3 אִין אַחֲדִי בְּתִבְרָא דְּשָׁנָאִי וַאִין אִיתְעֲרִית כֹּד אֲשַׁכְחִינִיָּה בִישִׁא:

P-Job הִא עֲנִיָּה בְּלִבִּי דְּשָׁנָאִי, הִא דְּרָגָה מֵא דְּמִחִיָּה לִּי בְּמִלָּא.

If I have rejoiced at the ruin of him that hated me, or exulted when evil overtook him RSV

As commentators have noted, the Qumran translation appears to have preserved a substantial amount of textual material (לוֹטִי וַיִּשְׁמַע] ... [בְּרִגְזִי xix, 5 וְאַחֲדָתָא]) between renderings of verses 29 and 30 which does not correspond to anything in the ancient versions at this point.⁵⁰² More interesting for our purposes is the Aramaic versions' treatment of the last half of verse 29 and, in particular, the idiom at its conclusion (כִּי-מָצְאוֹ רָע) 'when evil happens [to] (lit. finds) him'. Although the Aramaic versions show a wide variety of approaches in their treatment of וְהִתְעַנְּתִי, they are able to basically reproduce the formal and semantic qualities of the original in their translations. While RtgJob T3 (אִיתְעֲרִית) seems to have preserved a proximate rendering of the MT

⁵⁰² Is it possible that 11Q10 לוֹטִי וַיִּשְׁמַע 'my curse and he hears...' may have resulted from the transla-

form (הִתְעַנְּתִי) ‘(If) I was stirred up [with joy?]’, the Qumran translation (הִלַּלְתִּי ‘I praised, exulted’),⁵⁰³ along with P-Job (הִתְעַנְּתִי ‘I exulted’) and the first tradition preserved by the targum (יִבְבִּית וְשִׁבַּחְתִּי ‘I shouted and I praised’)⁵⁰⁴ have all provided renderings which appear to refer directly to rejoicing rather than a more ambiguous verb denoting general emotional excitement.⁵⁰⁵ When we come to the idiom (כִּי־מָצְאוּ רָע) which completes the verse, however, more substantial modifications are required on the part of the Syriac and Qumran translators. While the translator responsible for RtgJob (T3) produces an Aramaic translation which reproduces the Hebrew form and content with particular precision (אֲשַׁכְּחִינִיהָ) the remainder of the targumic traditions simply substitute an Aramaic lexeme (עָרְעִיהָ) which has the specific meaning intended by the Hebrew (to meet or occur). It is worthwhile to note that in any case the form of the Hebrew (verb + object suffix) is preserved in the targumists’ versions. In the Syriac version, the translator diverges from the more conventional Syriac rendering in producing ܠܡܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܡܝܢܐ ‘when evil was to him’.⁵⁰⁶ In this case, while there seems to be little attempt to reproduce the Hebrew idiom, the suffix is nevertheless maintained in a

tor’s linking of 30:30 (אֵלֶּה ‘curse’) and subject of hearing a curse (Lev. 5:1, Proverbs 29:24)?

⁵⁰³ This root appears in Gap 21:2 with this meaning. See J. Fitzmyer, and D.J. Harrington, (eds.) *A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts*, 117; *Editio princeps*, 48.

⁵⁰⁴ The rendering of RtgJob (T2) נִיבִיבִית seems likely to be an inner Targumic textual corruption of וִיבִיבִית.

⁵⁰⁵ It is difficult to determine whether one or more of the translators have read a hithpo’l form of רָע ‘to shout in triumph’ instead of the form preserved in MT. It seems to have been assumed by S.R. Driver and G.B. Gray, *The Book of Job* (II), 227 and R. Gordis, *The Book of Job*, 352 that RtgJob’s reading here has presupposed a Hebrew form of this sort. It may also be that one of the translators has simply provided a contextual rendering of this Hebrew lexeme based on the obvious meaning of the parallel verbal form in 29a (אֶשְׁמַח). RtgJob (T1) has clearly provided a double rendering here presumably due to the uncertainty or ambiguity of the Hebrew form under consideration. F. Martinez *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 11*, 125 understands 11Q10’s translation as representing a variant in the Hebrew text.

⁵⁰⁶ In other places in the Hebrew Bible where מָצָא is used in this sense, the Syriac translators make use of ܡܬܬܝܬܐ, (Ps 119:143; Dt. 4:30; 31:17,21; 2 Kgs. 7:9) ܡܬܬܝܬܐ (Ps. 116:3; Dt. 31:17; Job 34:11; 37:13) or ܡܬܬܝܬܐ (Gen. 44:34, Jos. 6:13).

post-verbal position with the substantive following.⁵⁰⁷ An even more radical adaptation of the Hebrew idiom appears in the Qumran translation where the prepositional phrase follows directly on from the main verb of the clause. [וה...ללת] phrase follows directly on from the main verb of the clause. על באִשתֵּהוּ XIX, 4 'I praised/exulted about his misfortune/evil'. The temporal conjunction (כִּי) is apparently passed over along with the verb of the Hebrew idiom (מִצָּאוֹ רָע). It is clear that unlike the other versions, in 11Q10, the translation of the suffix has been displaced and attached to the following substantive in order to allow for an intelligible Aramaic rendering (באִשתֵּהוּ 'his evil, misfortune'). The fact that this same translator has also offered a divergent translation of a similarly idiomatic use of this same verb at 37:13 would lend weight to the suggestion that it is either a misunderstanding or linguistic-stylistic constraints which have prevented the translator from providing a closer rendering of the Hebrew.⁵⁰⁸ In either case the displacement of the suffix would seem to be a result of the translator's adaptation of the source text as a means of producing an idiomatic translation.

34:10 לְכֵן אֲנִישֵׁי יִכָּבֶּ שְׂמֵעוּ לִי חֲלָלָה לְאֵל מִרְשָׁע וְשָׂדֵי מַעֲוָל:
 11Q10 כֵּעַן אֲנִשׁ] ... [חֹס לְאֱלֹהָא מִן שָׁקֶר xxiv, 5 וּמִן לְחַבְלִי \\\ א מִן רִי
 RtgJob בְּגִין כֵּן אֲנִישֵׁי חֲכִימִי לְבָא קְבִילוּ מִנִּי חֹס לְאֱלֹהָא מִן
 רִשְׁעָא/רִישְׁעָא/ וְשָׂדֵי מִן שָׁקֶר:
 P-Job מִלֵּל מִן אֲנִי, לְבָא חֲמִינִי, שֶׁ לְאֱלֹהִים דִּנְבָּה בִּלְמָד.
 חֲמִינִי לְמֵ דִּנְבָּה בִּלְמָד.

Therefore, hear me, you who have sense, far be it from God that he should do wickedness, and from the Almighty that he should do wrong. NRSV

⁵⁰⁷ H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 97 n.88.

⁵⁰⁸ In fact at 37:13 the Qumran translator, like the Syriac translator here, diverges from the MT by providing חֲמִינִי in conjunction with a suffixed preposition.

Although all three translators provide the standard Aramaic equivalent (ܡܢ/ܡܢܐ) for the Hebrew adverb ܡܢ ܠܗܠܐ ‘far be it (from X)...’ the manner in which they approach the remainder of Job 34:10 differs. In particular, it should be noted that while both the targumist and Syriac translator manage to preserve the order of the MT (divine subject + prepositional phrase) the Qumran text shows an inverted word order ([ܡܢ ܠܗܠܐ ܡܢ ܠܗܠܐ] ‘lit. ‘and from doing evil the Lord’) with the Aramaic rendering of the divine name being located later in the clause.⁵⁰⁹ To understand this modification it is necessary to give some consideration to the Hebrew idiom and its treatment in the Qumran and Syriac versions. It is important to note that the Hebrew expression rendered in English as ‘far be it from...’ usually (see for example Job 27:5) takes a dependent clause which includes a verb. As noted here, the text as pointed in the MT diverges from normal usage in providing nouns in place of an infinitive.⁵¹⁰ In the first instance the targum and Qumran translation appear to understand (ܡܢ ܠܗܠܐ) as preposition + substantive and render accordingly (ܡܢ ܠܗܠܐ / ܡܢ ܠܗܠܐ). The Syriac translator on the other hand, makes an addition to the Hebrew ܡܢ ܠܗܠܐ ܡܢ ܠܗܠܐ ‘Far be it from God to do evil...’ thereby supplying the expected verbal component.⁵¹¹ While the targumist faithfully follows the pointing of the MT in the parallel clause, P-Job too main-

⁵⁰⁹ Reading the slightly fuller text provided by F. Martinez *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 11*, 133 at this point, it seems clear that 11Q10 has probably rendered MT (divine name) ܡܢ ܠܗܠܐ ‘almighty’ with ܡܢ ܠܗܠܐ (as at 34:12; see also page 96 above). A strong case can be made for the suggestion that the substitution here and at 34:12 of ܡܢ ܠܗܠܐ ‘Lord’ for Hebrew ܡܢ ܠܗܠܐ ‘Almighty’ is due to an attempt on the part of the translator to avoid the repetition of ܡܢ ܠܗܠܐ which appears in the first half of both 34:10 and 34:12. That this is the case is indicated by the fact that both at 22:3 and 22:17 the translator renders ܡܢ ܠܗܠܐ with the generic divine name (ܡܢ ܠܗܠܐ) which is usually preferred by this translator. These unexpected substitutions at 34:10 and 12 are readily explicable in this light and seem to illustrate the translator’s willingness to sacrifice consistency in the face of a potential repetition.

⁵¹⁰ See S.R. Driver and G.B. Gray, *The Book of Job* (II), 254. For this Hebrew idiom see B. Waltke and M. O’Connor, *Hebrew Syntax*, § 40.2.2 c. The verbal clause is usually composed of either ܡܢ plus infinitive or ܡܢ plus prefix form.

⁵¹¹ It is difficult to determine whether the Syriac translator has read the Hebrew as an infinitive and rendered accordingly or ‘understood’ the Hebrew as preposition + substantive and simply adjusted his text according to the expected idiom. H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 274 classifies this translation as a paraphrase.

tains a high degree of consistency by again providing the verbal complement which the translator has seen as required or implied by the Hebrew (לְהַחֲבִיל מִן).⁵¹²

While the Qumran translator's approach parallels that of the targum in the first instance, here, in the parallel clause, his treatment shares more with the Syriac rendering, for 11Q10 provides the expected infinitival expression מִן לְהַחֲבִיל 'from doing wrong'. The translator's positioning of the *lamedh* before the infinitive rather than the divine name (|| לְהַחֲבִיל ||) shows that the Aramaic rendering, while making use of the infinitive, does not parallel the first clause syntactically. It seems likely then that this idiomatic use of the Aramaic infinitive has led to the post-positioning of the subject ([... וּמִן לְהַחֲבִיל מִן]).⁵¹³

The translator's use of transposition in the production of an idiomatic translation is also illustrated by the following example drawn from Job chapter 36:

36:28 אֲשֶׁר-יִזְלוּ שְׁחָקִים יִרְעֻפוּ עָלַי אֲלֵם רָב:

11Q10 ועננודי יי*נ*חתון⁶ xxviii, 6 [...] עם סגיא

RtgJob דזלחין שחקיא ירססון דעעל/דאסו/ משול צלותא דבר-נש רב:

P-Job דחשטא צחא צחא. חזש חזא ב חזא. חזש חזא. חזש חזא.

the clouds pour down their moisture and abundant showers fall on mankind. NIV

which the skies pour down, and drop upon man abundantly. RSV

While the word order of the MT (Rel – V – S) is preserved by the targumist (דזלחין שחקיא) and Syriac translator (דחשטא צחא) in their respective renderings of

⁵¹² The translator of P-Job has, for his part, replaced the divine name with a suffixed preposition (ל) which suggests that the translator has perceived the explicit repetition of the divine name here as redundant.

⁵¹³ For another example of the relationship between the infinitive and word order see 29:11 below.

the Hebrew, the Qumran text presents an inversion of this order. The translator's representation (עננודי 'his clouds') of the Hebrew substantive (שחקים) precedes the Aramaic verbal form which has been supplied as an equivalent for יזלו. The key to understanding this transposition seems to lie in understanding the differing syntactic realisations of the source text and its Aramaic translation. Whereas the targum and Syriac renderings preserve the Hebrew relative pronoun אשר at the beginning of the verse (א/ר) the translator of 11Q10 opts to transform the Hebrew subordinate construction into a co-ordinate clause in Aramaic. ('and his clouds send down...').⁵¹⁴ It seems clear that it is this prior syntactic decision on the part of the translator which has led to the transposition for elsewhere, when a verse is initiated by a *relative + finite verb* sequence the translator does not hesitate to reproduce it in his Aramaic translation.⁵¹⁵ But here, as at 37:17, the translator has modified the *relative-initial* verse and being thus freed from the constraints of the subordinate construction, he clearly saw fit to produce a more idiomatic word order ('and his clouds send down').⁵¹⁶ The plausibility of this suggestion is enhanced when other typical linguistic-stylistic modifications are also to be found in the rendering supplied by the Qumran translation. The addition of the 3rd masc. sg. suffix in עננודי 'his clouds' for instance seems to have resulted from the translator's desire to grammatically reaffirm divine control of the clouds and his previously discussed tendency to make explicit what is merely implied in the Hebrew.⁵¹⁷ Likewise in representing Hebrew יזלו 'cause to flow/shower down', both the Qumran text (י*נ*התון^{oo})⁵¹⁸ and the Syriac translation (ܡܫܬܝܐ) provide more general and prosaic translations from

⁵¹⁴ This same modification is attested in P-Job e.g. 22:10.

⁵¹⁵ 22:16 (MT: אשר-קמטו / 11Q10: די מיתו) 39:6 (MT: אשר-שמייתי / 11Q10: די שוית).

⁵¹⁶ For discussion of 37:17 see *ad loc.* (page 179) above.

⁵¹⁷ For the addition of suffixes in 11Q10, see below n. 957. H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 102 n.109 lists more than 25 instances where P-Job's addition of a suffix has been motivated by a desire for clarity and explicitness.

⁵¹⁸ See M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 141 for this form whose correction shows the dissimilation of *nun*.

the same root (נחת). When placed alongside these other modifications, the inversion of the verb and subject in 36:28 seems to have been a linguistic adjustment related to the transformation of the Hebrew subordinate clause.⁵¹⁹

24:25 וְאִם-לֹא אָפוּ מִי יִכְזִיבֵנִי וְיִשֶׁם לְאֵל מַלְתִּי ס:

[... מ] אִפּוּ יִתִּיבִנִּי פִתְגָם וי [...]

RtgJob ואין לא {קשוט} דיכי האן הוא מן דיכדבנני וישוי
בלא הות עיקר מלתי:

P-Job מאלא מאלא דהלא מ נבוכנ. מלעסעב מנע אלמא מלע,:

And if it be not so now, who will prove me a liar, And make my speech nothing worth? ASV

If it is not so (___), who will prove me a liar, and show that there is nothing in what I say? RSV

The representation of וְאִם-לֹא אָפוּ מִי יִכְזִיבֵנִי 'if not then, who will prove me false'... in the Aramaic versions suggests that the translators have found the Hebrew to be in some way problematic or challenging. The Syriac translator for instance understands or reads Hebrew אָפוּ (vocalised in MT as an adverb אִפּוּ) as referring to 'his anger',⁵²⁰ and the resulting translation bears little resemblance to the Hebrew מאלא מאלא נבוכנ. It seems possible that RtgJob's translation of this Hebrew text - דיכי האן הוא מן ד '...then, there is the one (who) ...' has also stemmed from the ambiguity of the preceding Hebrew אָפוּ. While in fact functioning here as an adverb, this lexeme closely resembles the interrogative 'where' as demonstrated by Job 4:7 (מִי הָיָא שָׁמָּה וְיָאִיפָה יִשְׁרָאֵל) 'who was there that was innocent, but perished and

⁵¹⁹ The fragmentary preservation of the Qumran text prevents us from knowing whether the translator has, like his English counterpart in the NIV, supplied the object (their moisture) which would seem to be required by the transformation of the subordinate clause. The RSV's preservation of the subordinate clause ('which the skies pour down...') implies that such a supplementation is not necessarily required.

⁵²⁰ This misidentification is evident again at 9:24. See H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 179-80 for other examples of P-Job's rendering of this lexeme.

where were the upright...?). Thus it seems likely that the targumist has provided both **דיכי** and **האן** as a rendering of **אפו**⁵²¹ and that some of the same ambiguity which resulted in P-Job's divergent rendering has been exploited/resolved by the targumist through the use of this double translation.⁵²² While the targumist's modification of the Hebrew in translation requires some measure of supplementation (**דיכי האן הוא מן ד**) it is important to note that the sequence of the Hebrew is faithfully reproduced in the Aramaic. Such is apparently not the case with the Qumran translation where we see (if the consensus reconstruction can be trusted) that 11Q10 presents a word order at odds with MT—transposing its rendering of the adverb to a position following the interrogative pronoun. It is interesting to note that the two instances where the Syriac translator has understood **אפו** as anger (here and 9:24) are the only two occasions where the adverb *precedes* the interrogative/verb to which it is related.⁵²³ While the Qumran translation of 9:24 is unfortunately not preserved, the translator's rendering of 17:15 (MT **וְאֵיךְ אִפְּנֵי תִקְוֶתִי**) (**וְאֵיךְ אִפְּנֵי אֲנִי**) shows that the inverted sequence (interrogative + adverb) which is found here in 11Q10 was willingly reproduced where it appeared in the Hebrew text. Further light is shed on the present passage by the Qumran text's treatment of 21:4 (**וְאֵם-מְדוּעַ לֹא-תִקְצֹר רוּחִי**). In transforming the Hebrew interrogative into an Aramaic declarative, the Qumran translator produces a rendering which supplies the adverb under consideration (**[... ..] אֲנִי לֹא תִ**) 'Behold then, you shall not'. The post-positioning of this same adverb in a translation which bears other marks of idiomatic license would strongly suggest that the word order here in 24:25 (**[... מִן] אֲנִי**) 'who then...' is a result of the translator's linguistic-stylistic modification of the Hebrew.

⁵²¹ RtgJob renders **אפן** more consistently (exception: 19:6 **השתא** 'now').

⁵²² While here it is the targumist alone who appears to produce the double rendering, the practise is not restricted to the Targum. See H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 154-5. Whether or not the creation of the doublet is the work of the translator (See J. Joosten, 'Doublet translations in Peshitta Proverbs' in P.B. Dirksen, A. van der Kooij (eds.) *Peshitta as a Translation* (Brill: 1995) 72) or that of a later editor, the goal would seem to be largely the same: the preservation of alternate renderings.

⁵²³ 9:24, 17:15, 19:6, 19:23, 24:25.

כִּי אֵזַן שָׁמְעָה וְתֹאשְׁרָנִי וְעֵין רָאָתָה וְתַעֲיִדָנִי: 29:11

[...] 11Q10 [שִׁמְעָה אֶזְרָן שְׁבַחְתָּנִי וְעֵין]

אָרוֹם אוֹדְנָא שְׁמַעַת אִמְרַת טַב לִי וְעִינָא דַּחְמַת אִסְהַדַת עַלִי: RtgJob

ܡܠܠ ܕܐܕܢܐ ܕܝܚܝܬܐ ܥܒܪܬܐܢܐ. ܚܝܬܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܫܡܥܬܐܢܐ. P-Job

When the ear heard, it called me blessed, and when the eye saw, it approved; RSV

In their renderings of Job 29:11, both the targumist (אָרוֹם אוֹדְנָא שְׁמַעַת) and the Syriac translator (ܡܠܠ ܕܐܕܢܐ ܕܝܚܝܬܐ) follow the Hebrew in providing a conjunction followed by first a substantive and then a related verb form. Because the translator of P-Job understands Hebrew כִּי as a causal conjunction (ܕܡܠܠ) he may have felt it necessary to provide a relative pronoun (*dalath*) in order to make the sentence flow more smoothly in Syriac (i.e., ‘For the ear *which* heard, praised me’).⁵²⁴ Although the Qumran text provides substantially the same translation in terms of meaning, the rendering differs from the other Aramaic versions in representing אֵזַן שָׁמְעָה in reverse order to that of the Hebrew. The editors of *DJD* 23 have favoured reconstructing [ת]שִׁמְעָה אֶזְרָן despite the fact that their English translation of this reconstruction ‘[(When) an ear [h]eard...’ reflects the fact that the Hebrew text in fact possesses a conjunction (כִּי) ‘when/because’.⁵²⁵ Clearly a reconstruction which is able to explain both the initial character now lost and the transposition evident in the Aramaic is to be preferred over such a suggestion. In fact the original editors’ suggestion to reconstruct a *preposition* + *substantive* construction would seem to fit the bill nicely.⁵²⁶ Muraoka’s citation of Targum

⁵²⁴ The insertion of a relative pronoun in a similar grammatical context in the preceding verse 10 suggests that this is part of the translator’s general linguistic-stylistic restructuring of the Hebrew text. H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 76 n. 26 suggests that this addition has resulted from a concern for explicit exegesis.

⁵²⁵ F. Martinez *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 11*, 115. The editors also acknowledge another difficulty, namely, that the evidently perfective verbal form following שְׁבַחְתָּנִי does not sit comfortably after the non-perfective form they reconstruct.

⁵²⁶ *Editio princeps*, 39.

Jon. 2 Sam. 22:45 לשמע אודן (where the expression is used with temporal force) and Zuckerman's reference to a similar construction in TgPs.18:45 would seem to support such a suggestion.⁵²⁷ M. Sokoloff's otherwise promising suggestion to reconstruct [למ]שמע on the basis of 42:5 is made less likely by the fact that there seems to be insufficient space for two characters to be restored between the fragment and the margin. Whether the lacuna is to be reconstructed as ל[שמע אודן or [למ]שמע אודן most commentators seem convinced that a harmonisation has taken place either with Psalms, Samuel or Job 42:5. And, regardless of which of these two reconstructions are preferred they have the benefit of explaining the Qumran Aramaic version's inverted representation of Hebrew אָזֵן שָׁמְעָה.⁵²⁸

4QJob^a יכלו ימיהם בטוב ושניהם בנעמים
 36:11 אִם-יִשְׁמְעוּ וְיַעֲבֹדוּ יִכְלֹ יִמֵּיהֶם בְּטוֹב וְשִׁנְיָהֶם בְּנַעֲמִים:
 11Q10 הן ישמעון ויעבדון ... [בטב ימהון ושניהון xxvii, 6 ביקר ועדנין
 RtgJob אין שמעין/יקבלון⁵²⁹ ופלחין ליה יגמרון ישלמון
 יומיהון בטב ושניהון בבסימא/במזמוטין:

⁵²⁷ T. Muraoka, 'The Aramaic of the Old Targum', 441; B.E. Zuckerman, *The Process of Translation*, 497. The difference between 11Q10 here and the targumic renderings in Psalms and Samuel being of course that whereas the Qumran translator is here diverging from the MT, the targumic renderings are clearly following the Hebrew לשמע אָזֵן with expected attentiveness.

⁵²⁸ As noted by B.E. Zuckerman, *The Process of Translation*, 497. Neither the preposition + infinitive nor the preposition + substantive (hearing) would be conducive to the ante-positioning of 'ear'. It is of course as Zuckerman notes, difficult to determine whether this harmonisation has taken place in the *Vorlage* or been implemented by the translator himself.

⁵²⁹ The variant (יקבלון) preserved in some MSS (א ד ז ח) represents a divergence from the majority reading ('to hear'). In RtgJob, this root (קבל) is used to render MT שמע primarily when this verb takes an objective suffix or *lamedh* preposition. (See for example: 5:27, 13:17, 21:2, 15:17, 22:27, 27:9 פ, 29:21, 31:35, 32:10, 33:31, 33:33, 34:10, 34:34). When this is not the case, the meaning of the verb is perceived as being more related to 'accept or obey' (which in the present context must refer to the previous 'correction or punishment' of verse 10). It may be that this term is being used as a technical translation for the reception of halakah (See R. Hayward, *The Targum of Jeremiah*, AramBib 12 (Wilmington: Glazier, 1987) 49, n.3). Most of these same MSS omit the prepositional phrase ליה '(hear/accept) him' which has been added by the majority of witnesses as an attempt to make good a perceived inadequacy in the source text (that is the lack of a prepositional phrase 'to him'). The translator of RtgJob provides an Aramaic participle in place of the Hebrew imperfect form due to language difference and a similar transformation occurs with the following verb form (ופלחין).

P-Job
 ܐܝܬܝܢ ܕܝܬܝܢ ܕܝܬܝܢ ܕܝܬܝܢ ܕܝܬܝܢ ܕܝܬܝܢ
 ܕܝܬܝܢ ܕܝܬܝܢ ܕܝܬܝܢ ܕܝܬܝܢ ܕܝܬܝܢ

If they hearken and serve him, they complete their days in prosperity, and their years in pleasantness. RSV

If they listen and obey God, then they will be blessed with prosperity throughout their lives.
 (_____) All their years will be pleasant. NLT⁵³⁰

The MT of Job 36:11 preserves two sets of parallelisms (listen/obey//days in prosperity/years in pleasantness) within the structure of a conditional clause. While the Syriac translator does not represent the Hebrew conditional,⁵³¹ all three Aramaic versions represent the initial verbs present in the Hebrew ('If they hear/obey and serve him...'). As Sokoloff has noted, because the Aramaic/Syriac ܠܥܒܕ means 'to do' rather than 'to serve' as in Hebrew, the translators responsible for both P-Job and 11Q10 fall victim to an erroneous translation through linguistic interference.⁵³² The parallel apodosis of verse 11 '(then) they shall complete their days in prosperity and their years in pleasantness' finds close representation in the targumic and Syriac versions. With respect to the Qumran translation, a small lacuna in the middle of the line prevents us from determining what if any verb form has preceded the preserved portion, but it is clear that the Aramaic shows a word order not found in the MT nor in the other Aramaic

⁵³⁰ The New Living Translation is a revision of K. Taylor's English *paraphrase* of a text which had already been translated into English. D. Robinson, 'Pseudo-Translation' in Mona Baker (ed.) *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies* (London: Routledge, 1998). Despite later revision toward the Hebrew, its basic status as a *pseudo-translation* means that its witness to the Hebrew text is mediated and indirect. It does nevertheless show that English linguistic-stylistic preference may impinge upon a rendering of this verse in a way similar to that attested by the Qumran translation.

⁵³¹ While in the MT verses 11 and 12 are parallel conditional units, the Syriac translator has rendered v. 11 as part of the apodosis whose protasis occurs in verse 9 ('If they are bound in chains...'). The motivation for this deviation from MT is likely to be found in the semantic link between verses 10 (ܐܝܬܝܢ ܕܝܬܝܢ ܕܝܬܝܢ ܕܝܬܝܢ ܕܝܬܝܢ ܕܝܬܝܢ) 'and he opens their ear to correction and says...' and 11 (ܐܝܬܝܢ ܕܝܬܝܢ ܕܝܬܝܢ ܕܝܬܝܢ ܕܝܬܝܢ ܕܝܬܝܢ) 'if they hear...'. This semantic link will then have overridden the constraint of the Hebrew word order preserved in MT with the result being a substitution.

⁵³² M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 138; F. Martinez *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 11*, 143. For discussion of *faux amis* in the Aramaic renderings of the Hebrew book of Job H.M. Szpek 'On the Influence of the Targum', 145-50.

translations.⁵³³ Where RtgJob (יְוִמִּיהוֹן בְּטֹב) and P-Job (ܬܠܝܬܬܐ ܕܝܡܝܗܘܢ) follow the Hebrew in presenting the object before the adverbial qualifier (pp), the Qumran text shows an inversion of these two elements (בְּטֹב יְוִמִּיהוֹן).⁵³⁴ What has motivated this divergence from the strict parallelism of the Hebrew (i.e., 'their days in prosperity, their years in pleasantness')?⁵³⁵ Part of the explanation may lie two verses earlier in the Hebrew of Job 36:9. There the Hebrew shows parallel substantives bearing 3rd masc. pl. suffixes in a central, adjacent position in the verse וַיִּגְדַּל לָהֶם פָּעֻלָּם וּפְשָׁעֵיהֶם כִּי יִתְגַּבְּרוּ. The fact that this pattern is replicated by the Qumran translator there, and then apparently reproduced here (יְוִמִּיהוֹן וּשְׁנִיהוֹן) two verses later may suggest some type of inter-verse influence. The case for some type of inter-verse influence is strengthened (and complicated at the same time) by the evidence of Job 21:13. There the Hebrew text presents a close parallel to the relevant portion of Job 36:11: (יִבְלֶה) [יִכְלֹה] בְּטוֹב יְמֵיהֶם וּבְרָגַע שְׂאוֹל יַחְתּוּ. Although the existing MT reads a verbal form from בִּלָּה 'to wear out' it seems quite likely that this has resulted from a confusion of *beth* and *kaph*.⁵³⁶ In any case the presence of בְּטוֹב יְמֵיהֶם

⁵³³ F. Martinez *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 11*, 143 and J. Fitzmyer, and D.J. Harrington, (eds.) *A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts*, 30 follow the original editors in reconstructing יְשֻׁלְמוֹן (on the basis of RtgJob).

⁵³⁴ M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 138. The defective spelling of יְוִמִּיהוֹן is paralleled by defective spelling in contracts composed in Middle Aramaic: יְוִמִּיה [papHevB ar 4] יְמִין [Mur 21 ar 2.15] (J. Fitzmyer, and D.J. Harrington, (eds.) *A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts*) as well as perhaps being found in Gap 7.1 (See T. Muraoka, 'Notes on the Aramaic of the Genesis Apocryphon' *RQ* 8 (1972) 48).

⁵³⁵ The fragments of a Hebrew text of Job found at Qumran (4Qjob^a) are relevant here. Although the official edition of the text fragments was, at the time of writing, still being prepared for publication (forthcoming DJD XII, see E. Ulrich, 'The biblical scrolls from Qumran Cave 4: A Progress Report of their Publication, *RQ* 14 (1989) 226) some of the editor's work may be inferred from an 'edition' of the text prepared for the recently issued annotated translation of the biblical MSS from the vicinity of the Dead Sea (M. Abegg, P. Flint, E. Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Bible* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1999) 590-93. In addition, the relevant PAM photos (41294, 41786, 42638, 43096) have been consulted by the present author (T.H. Lim [ed.] *The Dead Sea Scrolls* [CD-Rom], (OUP and Brill, 1997). Here, the fragments show a preservation of the word order found in the Masoretic Text. This would suggest that the positing of 11Q10 as a literal translation of 4Qjob^a is insufficient to explain the modifications in the Aramaic translation which find no correspondence in the Qumran Hebrew fragments.

⁵³⁶ See discussion in S.R. Driver and G.B. Gray, *The Book of Job* (II), 146.

in an order which deviates from the MT of 36:11 and parallels the inversion appearing in the Qumran translation must be given serious consideration in an assessment of this modification. It would be unnecessarily artificial to consider the respective influences of 36:9 and 21:13 as mutually exclusive and therefore it may be that the modification has resulted from a combination of influences. Finally it is worth remembering that the fragmentary Qumran text has elsewhere suggested a possible transposition involving בטוב.⁵³⁷

20:5 כִּי רִנְנָתָּ רָשָׁעִים מִקְרֹב וְשִׂמְחַת חָנָף עֲדֵי-רָגֶע:

11Q10 אֲרוּ מִבַּע רָשִׁיעַ[יִן] [...] iii, 7 [...] לעבע תעדא

RtgJob אַרום בועת רשעי שיציא בעגל וחדוות דילטור עד שעתא:

P-Job מַלְל דִּלְעִבְרִימֻסְמֻס דִּלְעִבְרִימֻס מִן לְעִבְרִימֻס. הַעֲדִימֻס דִּלְעִבְרִימֻס בְּזִמְנָא מְ
לֹבָא וְזִמְנָא

that the mirth of the wicked is brief, the joy of the godless lasts but a moment. NIV

All three Aramaic versions preserve translations of the final portion of Job 20:5. The targumist responsible for RtgJob follows the MT scrupulously, providing an equivalent for the preposition (עַד) before supplying the equivalent for רָגֶע consistently offered elsewhere.⁵³⁸ While the Syriac translator too provides a translation which suggests a clear understanding of the Hebrew text, the rendering of P-Job diverges considerably from the form of the Hebrew. A Syriac representation (ܠܒܐ) of the Hebrew preposition is provided, but both an enclitic pronoun, ܡܐ, and an adjective qualifying the length of time (ܕܠܒܐ 'brief') are added for the sake of creating an idiomatically explicit Syriac

⁵³⁷ See discussion of 21:25 above. The fact that in both cases this adverbial expression has been moved to an 'earlier' position in the clause may suggest that these inter-verse influences may have been accompanied by a stylistic predisposition of the translator.

⁵³⁸ See RtgJob 7:18, 20:5, 34:20.

rendering.⁵³⁹ When we come to the Qumran translator's representation of the end of 20:5 we note that here too the general meaning of the Hebrew seems to have been understood: **לעבֵּעַ תַּעֲדָא** '[the joy of the wicked] quickly passes'. It seems likely that the translator, whether mistaking the MT preposition for a verb, or simply choosing to render it this way, has represented **עָדִי** with a verbal form **תַּעֲדָא** meaning 'to pass away'.⁵⁴⁰ It is then equally evident that the translator has understood the meaning of **הֵגַעַ** and supplied **לעבֵּעַ** with adverbial force, 'quickly'. If all this is relatively obvious, there then remains the question of why the translator has chosen to deviate from the Hebrew by representing the adverbial form **לעבֵּעַ** before the verb, rather than after.⁵⁴¹ Lacking as we are in immediate textual clues as to the motivation for this transposition, it is understandable that T. Muraoka has included this transposition as one of his examples of how 'sumero-akkadian' influence in Eastern Aramaic has made its presence felt in the Qumran translator's deviations from the word-order of the Hebrew.⁵⁴² While it is by no means clear that linguistic necessity has compelled such a word order, it is interesting to note that another Aramaic text from Qumran shows the ante-positioning of the verb in relation to this adverb.⁵⁴³ Although it would not be wise to rule out Aramaic linguistic considerations altogether, it may be that the answer lies closer to home. In this connection it is interesting to note that the three other times that **הֵגַעַ** appears in the MT of Job, it is used adverbially (7:18, 20:5, 34:20) as is the case here in 11Q10's translation. While none of these others are preserved in the Qumran translation, it is perhaps signifi-

⁵³⁹ H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 75.

⁵⁴⁰ B.E. Zuckerman, *The Process of Translation*, 126 sees here either an error on the part of the translator or the scribe responsible for the translator's Hebrew *Vorlage*. As Zuckerman notes, the rarity of this form of the preposition would lend credence to this suggestion, as might the observation that **עָדִי** is a common form within the Aramaic paradigm for this verbal root (see G. Dalman, *Grammatik*, 281-90).

⁵⁴¹ F. Martinez *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 11*, 94 characterises 11Q10's translation here as a 'free rendering' of the MT.

⁵⁴² T. Muraoka, 'The Aramaic of the Old Targum', 440-441.

⁵⁴³ 1QGap 20.9 **וּשְׁלַח לַעֲבֹעַ** 'and he sent (for her) quickly'. (J. Fitzmyer, and D.J. Harrington, (eds.) *A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts*). Would Muraoka then point to this word order as representing a Western Aramaic word order, untainted by Eastern influences?

cant that all three of these adverbial uses of רָגַע show a word order Adv-V as we see here in the Qumran translation (לעבע תעדא). It seems quite possible then that either linguistic-stylistic preference or the influence of other similar constructions (or perhaps some combination of the two) have played a part in the word order divergence of the Qumran translation.

וְאִם-זִכְרֹתַי וְנִבְהֻלָּתַי וְאַחַז בְּשָׁרִי פִלְצוֹת: 21:6

ותמהא אחד לי 11Q10

וְאִם/וְאִין דְּכִרִית וְאַתְבַּהֲלִית וְאַחַד בְּסָרִי רִתִּיתָא: RtgJob

ܘܐܝܢ ܕܟܪܝܬ ܘܐܬܒܗܠܝܬ ܘܐܚܕ ܒܥܪܝ ܪܝܬܝܬܐ. P-Job

When I think of it I am dismayed, and shuddering seizes my flesh. RSV

When I think about this, I am terrified; trembling seizes my body. NIV

It has already been noted that the Qumran translator fails to represent ‘flesh’ (בְּשָׁרִי) in providing a more generic pronominal reference (לִי).⁵⁴⁴ It is also interesting to note that both the Qumran and Syriac translators introduce a syntactic change into their renderings of this clause, taking Hebrew בָּשָׂר (subject in MT)⁵⁴⁵ as the object and marking their translations with a *lamadh* to indicate its objective status.⁵⁴⁶ Where the Qumran translation differs from both the Syriac and targumic versions is in its order of representation. All three translators represent Hebrew אַחַז with the cognate Aramaic equivalent albeit with P-Job providing a 3rd pl. rendering אַחַז in place of the singular in MT.⁵⁴⁷ But while the targum and Syriac versions follow the Hebrew in preserving a

⁵⁴⁴ See chapter 2 above.

⁵⁴⁵ R. Gordis, *The Book of Job*, 228.

⁵⁴⁶ For further discussion of 11Q10's use of the *lamedh* as marker of the object see B.E. Zuckerman, *The Process of Translation*, 155; M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 188. For representation of the object in Syriac see T. Muraoka, *Classical Syriac*, § 97.

⁵⁴⁷ This may be attributed to the intra-verse influence of the erroneous plural rendering of Hebrew פִּלְצוֹת with which this verb is then made to agree. H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 65 n.7 correctly attributes the change in number of the noun to an error (67) but she seems to erroneously attribute the change in

verb-initial sequence (V-O-S), the Qumran translation positions the verb medially in the clause **תַּמְהָא אַחַד לִי** (S-V-O) ‘amazement seizes me’.⁵⁴⁸ Lacking any suggestion of a misunderstanding or influence from the context, it seems most reasonable—particularly in light of the other clearly linguistic-stylistic modifications already discussed—to attribute this word order discrepancy to linguistic or stylistic considerations. It is not surprising then that Muraoka has included this instance amongst the examples marshalled in support of his suggestion that divergences like these represent the translator’s reversion to a word order more reflective of the idiom of Aramaic in which he was most at home.⁵⁴⁹ Because the order of verb (**אַחַד**) and object (**לִי**) is maintained here and attested elsewhere,⁵⁵⁰ the crucial relationship in this case appears to be between that of subject and verb. As with most English translators of this verse, the Aramaic translator seems in this case to have preferred to ‘front’ the subject (**תַּמְהָא**) on stylistic grounds.

מִי-פָקֵד עָלָיו אֶרְצָה וּמִי שָׁם תִּבֶּל כֻּלָּהּ: 34:13

[...ה] וְאֶרְעָא עֲבַד xxiv, 8 וְקִשְׁטַת תְּבִלָּהּ [...] 11Q10

מִן פִּקִּיד עֲלוּהִי לְמַעַבְדִּי אֶרְעָא וּמִן שׁוּי תִּבֶּל כֻּלָּהּ: RtgJob

מִנָּה פִּקִּיד עֲלוּהִי. מִנָּה שׁוּי. לְמַעַבְדִּי. לְכָל הָעוֹלָם. P-Job

Who gave him charge over the earth and who laid on him the whole world? RSV

We have already encountered Job 34:13 in connection with the Qumran translation’s omission of the prepositional phrase (**עָלָיו**) and here our attention is again focused on the Aramaic versions’ rendering of the beginning of the verse. In order to make

number in the verb (65, n.7) to language difference where it seems clear that the motivation is intra-verse influence (as is suggested B.E. Zuckerman, *The Process of Translation*, 155).

⁵⁴⁸ 11Q10’s rendering of MT **פִּלְצוֹת** ‘a shudder’ with the more general (and less corporeal)

תַּמְהָא ‘amazement’ may indicate a contextual guess on the part of the translator. The infrequency with which this noun appears in the Hebrew Bible would support such a suggestion. See B.E. Zuckerman, *The Process of Translation*, 152.

⁵⁴⁹ T. Muraoka, ‘The Aramaic of the Old Targum’, 440-441.

⁵⁵⁰ See 11Q10’s translation of 33:10 where this exact same construction is provided.

parent transformation of the Hebrew interrogative into an Aramaic declarative and the omission of the suffixed preposition) would certainly lend a certain degree of credibility to the suggestion that the transposition found here in the Qumran translation may be attributed to stylistic-linguistic preferences.⁵⁵⁴

33:29 הֵן-כָּל-אֱלֹהִים יַפְעִיל-אֶל פְּעַמַּיִם שְׁלֹשׁ עַם-גִּבֹּר:
 11Q10 הא [ג]בֹר xxiii, 8 זמן תרין תלתה
 RtgJob הא כל איליין דעבד אלהא תרין זמנין ותלת עם בר-נש:
 P-Job מלך חלם חבו אלמא אלם וקני חב חבא

God does all these things to a man— twice, even three times— NIV

God indeed does all these things, twice, three times, with mortals, NRSV

While the targumist prefers to render Hebrew גִּבֹּר with the well known Aramaic expression בר-נש, both the Qumran and Syriac translators supply the Aramaic cognate (גבֹר/נ). The Syriac translator, however, like the targum, follows the MT in supplying the prepositional phrase (עם-גִּבֹּר) as the final component of the sentence. In the MT and these versions, the numerical element (twice, three times) which functions adverbially, intervenes between the verb-subject cluster (יַפְעִיל-אֶל) and the latter prepositional phrase.⁵⁵⁵ The fragments of Hebrew Job found at Qumran appear to parallel the

and 40:5 as examples of post-positioning of the verb where the translator ‘took a certain measure of liberty with the Hebrew text’.

⁵⁵⁴ In the Qumran translation of this verse, the principal verbs of each main clause are now conjoined in the ‘centre’ of the verse (עבד וקשט)—a pattern seen frequently elsewhere in Job (e.g. 3:23, 19:9, 24:22, 25; 26: 11, 27:10, 30:9 etc.).

⁵⁵⁵ Both M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 133 and F. Martinez *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 11*, 132 conclude that 11Q10’s addition of זמן ‘time’ represents an elliptical expression ‘(one) time, two (times), three (times)’. At 40:5 RtgJob adds זמנא to a cardinal number in order to create a multiplicative. Support for the idea that שְׁלֹשׁ (omission of the initial numeral) is rather unusual is provided by a similar series of multiplatives at 33:14 which does contain the initial numeral. The perceived awkwardness of the present case for the Syriac translator is signalled by P-Job’s interpretation of פְּעַמַּיִם ‘two times’ here as the plural rather than the dual in its translation. RtgJob provides an additional word in its translation (תרין זמנין)

word order preserved in the MT and there seems to be little in the surrounding context which has influenced this transposition in 11Q10.⁵⁵⁶ It may well be that the transposition was made in order to eliminate the intervention of the graded numerical sequence between the more basic syntactic construction V-S (numerical sequence)-Pp.⁵⁵⁷ The two English translations cited above may provide an analogy to the situation in Aramaic. Apparently the linguistic-stylistic constraints operative in the production of both the English RSV, and the Aramaic targum and Peshitta versions are such that the word order of the source text takes priority over any perceived stylistic preference. On the other hand, in the case of the NIV's English translation and that of the Qumran translator, it seems that a perceived linguistic-stylistic constraint has overridden the priority of fidelity to the word order of the Hebrew with the result that both English and Aramaic translators have transposed the prepositional phrase to the same place in their renderings—leaving the numerical sequence to the end of their translations.

וְעַתָּה עָלַי תִּשְׁתַּפֵּן נַפְשִׁי יְאֲחֲזֶנִּי יְמֵי-עֲנִי: 30:16

11Q10 וכען עלי תתאשד xvi, 6 [י...ומי תשב*ר*א יאקפוני

RtgJob וכדון עלי מצטערא נפשי יחדונני יומי עניות:

P-Job ܡܫܥܪܐ ܕܐܢܬܐ ܢܦܫܐ ܕܝܚܕܘܢܢܝܝܐ ܝܘܡܝܐ ܕܥܢܝܬܐ.

And now, in me my soul poureth itself out, Seize me do days of affliction. YLT

And now my soul is poured out within me; days of affliction have taken hold of me. NRSV

The Syriac translator's omission of the Hebrew suffixed preposition has already

due to the linguistic constraints of Aramaic in expressing the multiplicative. (See G. Dalman, *Grammatik*, 134) It seems quite likely that the original editors of 11Q10 (*Editio princeps*, 57) have suggested that the Qumran text should be understood as זמן תרין 'two times' under the influence of the similar targumic rendering (see however M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 133).

⁵⁵⁶ For general discussion of the Hebrew fragments see footnote 535 above.

⁵⁵⁷ See A. Steinmann, 'The Graded Numerical Sequence in Job' in A. Beck *et al.* (eds.) *Fortunate the Eyes that See* (1995) 288-297. Steinmann has suggested in a private communication that the interposing of the numerical sequence in 33:29 is unusual and syntactically ambiguous, particularly when contrasted with the standard format of the graded numerical sequence (cola 1: x / cola 2: x + 1) which appears elsewhere in Job (e.g. 5:19, 33:14; 40:5) For discussion of graded numerical sequences in the Hebrew Bible generally see M. Haran, 'The Graded Numerical sequence' VTSup 22 (1972) 238-67.

been noted in a previous discussion, but here we turn to the latter half of the verse where it is the Qumran translator who diverges from the Hebrew text. While all three Aramaic translators have provided renderings which correspond recognisably to the Hebrew text (יָמֵי-עֲנִי 'days of affliction seize me'), the Qumran text shows a reversal of the word order preserved in the MT and followed by the other Aramaic translators. Instead of MT V(-O)-S [N+N], the Qumran translator presents a word order which leaves the verb in the final position and the construct phrase at the beginning (יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ תִּשְׁבֵּר *רָא *אֶת יְמֵינוּ).⁵⁵⁸ Muraoka has included this instance of transposition among the cases which suggest to him that the translator of the Qumran text is displaying the influence of Eastern Aramaic word order.⁵⁵⁹ While Muraoka's perspective on this transposition is plausible, the case is complicated by the translator's treatment of a syntactically identical construction in the vicinity. Eleven verses later, at Job 30:27, the translators are confronted with a very similar Hebrew text (יָמֵי-עֲנִי: קִדְמָנִי 'days of affliction confront me'). If the transposition in 30:16 was the result of a pervasive linguistic-stylistic constraint, a similar modification might well be expected shortly later in verse 27. But the Qumran translation shows no such modification, providing a rendering (קִדְמָנִי יְמֵי עֲנִי) which seems to preserve the word order of the Hebrew.⁵⁶⁰ This type of variation in close proximity would seem to exclude any suggestion that the transposition found in 30:16 has resulted from a necessary linguistic constraint of Aramaic. But if the similarities between verses 16 and 27 are striking, it may in fact be the differences between them which shed light on the transposition in the present case. While in 30:27 the translator is apparently willing and able to provide a proximate rendering of the Hebrew, in verse 16 above, both 11Q10 and P-Job show divergent render-

⁵⁵⁸ While F. Martinez *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 11*, 119 reconstruct a space at the beginning of the line which may be sufficient for a literal equivalent for יָמֵי-עֲנִי, most commentators appear to favour the transposition theory (See for example, *Editio princeps*, 42; J. Fitzmyer, and D.J. Harrington, (eds.) *A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts*, 24; K. Beyer, *Die Aramäischen Texte*, 289).

⁵⁵⁹ T. Muraoka, 'The Aramaic of the Old Targum', 441.

⁵⁶⁰ The partially preserved word beginning עֲנִי may be reconstructed as עֲנִי לִבְנָא or עֲנִי לָא (See F. Martinez *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 11*, 121).

ings of יִאֲחַזְנֵנִי. Although they have not utilised the same root, both translators (מִדְּחַיִּי/יִאֲחַזְנֵנִי '[days of affliction] surround me') have provided semantically similar renderings which suggest that the figurative language of the Hebrew text (יָמֵי-עָנִי יִאֲחַזְנֵנִי 'days of affliction have seized me') has been considered stylistically unacceptable to the translators.⁵⁶¹ The conjunction of word order divergence and other contextual linguistic-stylistic modifications would seem to suggest that the transposition evident here is also to be attributed to such causes.⁵⁶² The Qumran translator's reproduction of the Hebrew word order in 30:27 shows that his target language, Aramaic, unlike English in this case, can tolerate and accommodate the word order. But the translator's rendering here in verse 16 suggests that an inverted word order may be preferred—particularly when the translation is more idiomatic in any case. This phenomenon of stylistic variation in close proximity has been well documented in the Peshitta by Iddo Avinery and indeed while P-Job preserves the word order of the Hebrew in both cases under discussion, it preserves other variations of its own here.⁵⁶³ English again provides a parallel: because the preservation of the Hebrew word order results in a contorted English translation (as exemplified by YLT) virtually all English renderings of this verse implement the transposition seen above in the NRSV.

⁵⁶¹ H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 297 classifies P-Job's rendering as a contextual one. E. Baumann, 'Verwendbarkeit der Peshita', (1900) 192 suggests that a variant Hebrew form such as יִאֲחַזְנֵנִי 'to encircle, surround may lie behind the Syriac rendering.

⁵⁶² Because the preservation of the Hebrew word order results in a contorted English translation (see YLT above), virtually all English renderings of this verse implement a transposition (e.g. NRSV).

⁵⁶³ One of the chief examples of variation presented by I. Avinery, 'Problèmes de Variation', 107 is the alternate representations of the genitive. Interestingly although the Syriac translator of Job does not supply the variation we meet here in 11Q10, he does provide yet another instance to add to Avinery's catalog: the construct genitive of v.16 (ܡܕܚܝܝܐ ܕܝܡܝܐ) is replaced with the analytic form in v.27 (ܡܕܚܝܝܐ ܕܝܡܝܐ).

4QJob^a ...ו בו אנו]

36:25 כָּל-אָדָם חָזוּ-בָּהּ אִנּוּשׁ יְבִיט מֵרָחֹק:

11Q10 ו]כָּל אִנּוּשׁ עֲלוּהִי חֲזִין וּבְנֵי-אִנּוּשׁ xxviii, 3 מֵרָחִיק]... יִבְקֹן

RtgJob כָּל בֶּרֶךְ חֲמוֹן בֵּיהּ אִנּוּשׁ יִסְתַּכֵּל מֵרָחִיק:

P-Job הִכֵּן אִנּוּשׁ שֶׁאִתּוֹ, הָאִנּוּשׁ מֵ רֵחָק.

All men have looked on it; man beholds it from afar. RSV

In its representation of Job 36:25, the Qumran rendering presents a word order at odds with the MT not once, but twice. In the first instance, where the targumist and Syriac translator basically follow the word order of the Hebrew כָּל-אָדָם חָזוּ-בָּהּ (S-V-O[PP]) in their renderings, the translator responsible for 11Q10 reverses the order of the Aramaic equivalents so that the prepositional phrase precedes the verbal element (עֲלוּהִי חֲזִין).⁵⁶⁴ Muraoka again sees this post-positioning of the verb as a tell-tale sign of sumero-akkadian linguistic influence, and his case would seem to be strengthened by the adjustment found in the Qumran text's representation of the latter, parallel portion of the verse.⁵⁶⁵ Again, the translator of 11Q10 presents the Aramaic reader with a rendering which inverts the word order of the Hebrew. Again the prepositional phrase (מֵרָחִיק]...) is placed earlier in the clause, while the verb (יִבְקֹן) takes up the final position. Because adjustments are made in each half of the verse the parallelism of the unit survives intact. But in both cases, as Muraoka has already noted, the verbal element appears later in the clause. There appears to be little in the immediate context which should have motivated such an adjustment of the verse, but in Job 28:24, verbs of vision (רָאָה/נִבֵּט) similar to those found here, also appear in separate stichs and in that case they

⁵⁶⁴ The targumist approximates the Hebrew but the translators of 11Q10 and P-Job have chosen to provide alternate renderings of MT חָזוּ-בָּהּ. P-Job has provided an objective suffix (שֶׁאִתּוֹ) while 11Q10 has opted for an alternate prepositional phrase (עֲלוּהִי). The lack of similar Hebrew constructions in Job prevents confirmation that these respective modifications should be attributed to language difference.

⁵⁶⁵ T. Muraoka, 'The Aramaic of the Old Targum', 441.

do take the final position in the Hebrew.⁵⁶⁶ Another possible influence may be found at Job 39:29 where (לְמַרְחֹק עֵינָיו יִבְטִיטוּ) shows a Hebrew word order which is comparatively similar to the one found in 11Q10 here (מִרְחִיקָן ... יִבְקִינוּ). These may well be sources of inter-verse influence which have impinged on the Qumran translator's rendering, but they seem insufficient to explain a double modification such as we find here. Lacking any other clear reasons for such transpositions, Muraoka's suggestion of linguistic-stylistic influence may well be a more suitable explanation.⁵⁶⁷

In the preceding example we encountered two parallel transpositions in the same verse. This is perhaps not entirely unexpected in the case of Hebrew poetry where parallelism is often an important structure. In the following example, we are likewise provided with two examples of transposition, but the verse in question is drawn not from a poetic passage but from the prose 'epilogue'.

42:10 וַיְהִי־הָאֵשׁ אֶת־שְׁבִיתָאֵיּוֹב בְּהִתְפַּלֵּל בְּעַד
רָעָהוּ וַיִּסַּף יְהוָה אֶת־כָּל־אֲשֶׁר לְאִיּוֹב לְמַשְׁנָה:

11Q10 ותב אלהא *לאיוב* ברחמין xxxviii, 4 ויהב לה חדר תרין בכל די

RtgJob הוא לה ומימרא דיי אתיב ית גלוות איוב בצלאותיה
מטול חברוהי ואוסיף מימר דיי ית כל דהוה לאיוב בכופלא:
{לא} על חדר תרין:

P-Job מנא אספא צבאס דאנב ב חלא מא ב זעבא,
מאספ מנא ב בלוצג דאס מא למ לאנב אפא.

And (the LORD) (restored) the fortunes of Job, when he had prayed for his friends; and the LORD gave Job twice as much as he had before. RSV

⁵⁶⁶ While the present verse presents חזרה/נבט, 11Q10's renders both חזרה (36:25) and ראה (42:5, 29:8, 33:26, 28, 40:11 etc.) with Aramaic חזי. While the Syriac translator does show a transposition of the verb in 28:24, the Qumran translation of this verse is unfortunately not preserved.

⁵⁶⁷ Again, the Hebrew fragments from Cave 4 of Qumran provide no parallel for the Qumran translation, maintaining, insofar as it is preserved, the word order found in the MT. See PAM 43.096.

All three Aramaic versions follow the Hebrew in beginning 42:10 with the *waw* conjunction, but while each translator represents the tetragrammaton, the manner in which they do so differs significantly. The Qumran translator's provision of the generic divine name אלהא for the tetragrammaton here and elsewhere⁵⁶⁸ contrasts notably with the various witnesses within the MSS tradition of RtgJob which have preserved the supplementary phrase - מִימְרָא ד- prior to its distinctive rendering of the divine name יי.⁵⁶⁹ Different again is the translation of P-Job which does not follow the Qumran translation in using the generic (אלהא) but prefers to provide מ. The issue here, however, is not *how* the Aramaic translators have represented the tetragrammaton but *where* they have done so in their respective renderings. Both the targumist (ומִימְרָא דִּי אֲתִיב) and the Syriac translator (ܡܝܡܪܐ ܕܝܐܬܝܒ) take their cue from the Hebrew text in following the *waw* conjunction with their rendering of the divine name. The Qumran text, however, shows a discrepancy vis-à-vis the MT, for although providing a semantically similar translation, it shows an inverted order in the Aramaic (ותב אלהא). T. Muraoka recognises that the Qumran text's transformation (V-S-O) of the MT word order (S-V-O) must be admitted as a counter-example to his argument for Eastern Aramaic influence on 11Q10's word order, and indeed, at first blush, such would seem to be the case.⁵⁷⁰ An examination of the context, however, suggests that certain other constraints may be operative in this situation. Lying as it does at the heart of the prose epilogue, it is not surprising that this verse is preceded by one (42:9) which contains no less than three verb-initial clauses (...וישׁא/...ויַעֲשׂוּ/...וילכו). While the Qumran translation does not preserve a rendering of 42:9 in its entirety, its rendering also employs verb-initial clauses exclusively (...ושמע/...ושבֿק). Similarly in the verse which follows (42:11)

⁵⁶⁸See for example 40:6 and particularly 42:9 and 11. In M. Sokoloff's retroversion (M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 168) of the putative 'Hebrew' *Vorlage* of the translator the Hebrew tetragrammaton is preserved.

⁵⁶⁹ See Appendix I: *Memra* in 11Q10.

⁵⁷⁰ T. Muraoka, 'The Aramaic of the Old Targum', 441. This case is acknowledged but not treated in any

the verb-initial (*waw* + prefix conjugation) clauses again carry the main narrative line (וַיִּבְּאוּ/...וַיֵּאָכְלוּ/...וַיִּגְדּוּ). Here in 42:10, however, while the main narrative line is supported by the appearance of ...וַיִּסֶּף in 42:10b, the verse begins with the subject (tetragrammaton) fronted instead of the verb (וַיִּהְיֶה שָׁב אֶת-יְשֻׁבִית). T.O. Lambdin has described how the sequence *disjunctive waw-S-Verb* can serve to interrupt or break into the main narrative to supply information perceived as related to, but also somehow background to the main narrative line.⁵⁷¹ Whether or not the interruption of the sequence here should be interpreted in such a manner or not is unclear, but what is obvious is that *waw* + subject interrupts the otherwise unbroken series of main narrative verbs.⁵⁷² It is also clear that the targumist and Syriac translator have reproduced the word order preserved in the MT. In the case of the Qumran translator, the linguistic-stylistic priority of syntactical harmonisation with the surrounding environment has overridden any consideration of the disjunctive nature of 42:10. The consequence of this tendency toward syntactical harmonisation appears to have been the creation of an Aramaic verb-initial sequence and a divergence from the MT word order.⁵⁷³

The second transposition in this verse is to be found at the tail end of the Qumran text's rendering. All three Aramaic versions follow the Hebrew in expressing the narrative fact that Job received double (לְמִשְׁנָה) the amount of possessions that he'd had before his trials. While the Syriac translator provides an expected equivalent (ܕܡܚܕܐ), the type of Aramaic multiplicative preserved in the Qumran text (ܚܕܐ ܬܪܝܝܢ) is included alongside an alternative form (ܒܚܘܦܠܐ) in the targumic translation.⁵⁷⁴ The Qumran text

detail.

⁵⁷¹ T. Lambdin, *Introduction to Biblical Hebrew*, 164.

⁵⁷² While it might be argued that verse 10 serves to provide parenthetical material pertinent to the narrative of Job's rehabilitation and social re-integration, an equally viable interpretation would include Job's prayer and the restoration of his material in the main narrative line.

⁵⁷³ With respect to the position of T. Muraoka, 'The Aramaic of the Old Targum', 441-2 the above discussion would seem to require that any linguistic-stylistic tendency for the post-positioning of the verb has in this case been overruled by a desire for syntactic harmonisation with the context.

⁵⁷⁴ The labelling of ܚܕܐ ܬܪܝܝܢ with the rubric {ܠܐ} alongside the other translation marks this double

locates its equivalent not at the end of the verse—as do the targum and Syriac texts—but immediately following the verbal form which appears in the clause. In the earlier example of transposition in this verse, we saw that a stylistic preference for grammatical harmonisation was the primary motivator for diverging from the Hebrew word order. Here, however, the discrepancy appears to result from a properly linguistic constraint. While the lexeme **מִשְׁנָה** is relatively free in terms of its positioning vis-à-vis other grammatical elements in a Hebrew clause, not all languages display this same flexibility.⁵⁷⁵ The usual English equivalent, for example, is less flexible in terms of its positioning as may be seen by a cursory examination of English versions of Genesis 43:12 and 15. In verse 15 (**מִשְׁנָה-כֶּסֶף לְקַחוּ**) the Hebrew qualifier precedes both the object and the verb and while the verb tends to take initial position in English renderings, the translators are happy to reproduce the word order of the Hebrew with respect to **מִשְׁנָה-כֶּסֶף** (e.g. So the men took the present, and they took (**מִשְׁנָה-כֶּסֶף**) double the money...NRSV). Three verses earlier, however, where the Hebrew presents the exact same information in a different order (**כֶּסֶף מִשְׁנָה קַחוּ**) English translations must invert the order to create an idiomatic translation (e.g. Take (**כֶּסֶף מִשְׁנָה**) double the money with you... NRSV).⁵⁷⁶ What light this sheds on the present discussion may be seen when it is noted that here in Job 42:10, these same constraints are operative in the English rendering. The priority of the English idiom has required the translators to position their rendering of **לְמִשְׁנָה** before the clause which is qualified by it. ('...the LORD gave Job twice as much as he had before.') When we turn to the rendering of the Aramaic translator of the Qumran text we see that the translation (**וַיְהִיב לֵה חַד תַּרְיִן בְּכָל דִּי הוּא לֵה**) shows an identical

rendering of 'double' as an 'editorial' doublet. (ט ע מ ל י ה ג) The fact that this rubricated version appears in the margin of פ and ל might lend support to the theory that the multiple translations in RtgJob are due largely to a process of integrating editorial work. (See C. Mangan, *The Targum of Job*, 11 and R. Weiss, *התרגום הארמי לספר איוב*, XVII).

⁵⁷⁵ For Hebrew see e.g. O-m-V (Gen. 43:12), m-O-V (Gen. 43:15) V-O-m (Exod. 16:22), V-m-O (Jer 16:8).

⁵⁷⁶ Where the object being qualified is provided, idiomatic English seems to prefer that the qualifier 'double' or 'twice' precede the qualified object. For other examples of this see e.g. Ex 16:22 and Jer 16:18.

adjustment with the modifier taking up a position between the dative and the following clause. Whether this adjustment reflects, as it seems to in English, a consistent linguistic constraint of 11Q10's Aramaic dialect or whether the adjustment is simply an optional stylistic preference of the translator, it seems quite reasonable to locate this modification at some point on the linguistic-stylistic continuum.

Summary of Transposition in 11Q10

In light of the foregoing discussion of various examples in the Qumran translation, we are now in a better position to offer some tentative answers to the questions posed at the beginning of the chapter. In the above analysis, we have encountered several instances where confirmation of a possible transposition in the Qumran translation is precluded by the poor state of the manuscript.⁵⁷⁷ In most of these examples, the case for the dislocation of the element to a portion of the manuscript now lost must be weighed against the very real possibility that the form was never included in the translation.⁵⁷⁸ While this uncertainty inevitably complicates any assessment of the possible motives for these 'transpositions', one of the cases (34:7) seems quite likely to have been a genuine dislocation resulting from a desire to harmonise the word order with other comparable texts.

But even in the unlikely event that each instance identified as a possible transposition could be shown to be an omission rather than a mere dislocation of the text, the Qumran translation nevertheless provides numerous examples of clear and unequivocal divergences from the word order attested in the Hebrew text of the MT. Again, as with omissions in 11Q10, the manifest existence of a transposition in no way guarantees that its cause may be easily identified.

In a few cases, where larger blocks of material (i.e. verses or multiple clauses) are concerned, it seems quite conceivable that the transposition of text may have already

⁵⁷⁷ E.g. 30:3, 23:2, 37:18, 36:30, 21:25, 34:7.

⁵⁷⁸ A possibility which must be taken seriously in light of chapter 2.

taken place in the translator's *Vorlage*.⁵⁷⁹ However, in these instances there are also other explanations possible and a variant *Vorlage* is by no means certain. Indeed several other dislocations clearly evident in the text of the Qumran translation seem to defy easy explanation and are more likely to have been the result of a relatively complex interaction of causes which are not easily disentangled. Such causes may include adjustment of a particularly idiomatic Hebrew expression,⁵⁸⁰ a preceding modification in the context,⁵⁸¹ or an attempt to come to terms with a Hebrew text perceived as ambiguous or challenging.⁵⁸² In all cases, what seems to remain constant is the translator's willingness to sacrifice the word order of the source text as a means of creating a more fluent and intelligible reconstitution of the Hebrew text in Aramaic.

The Qumran translation also presents instances where its divergence from the word order of the MT seems to be related to the presence of a text, in the nearer or more remote vicinity, which is semantically similar but presents a different word order.⁵⁸³ Of course, the judgement that a given transposition is due to inter-verse influence is complicated by the possibility that the translator's Aramaic linguistic-stylistic preferences may have led to the divergence in word order quite independently of any harmonising tendencies. It is not surprising therefore that the Qumran text presents some cases which would seem to defy any strict classification in terms of purely inter-verse influence or entirely linguistic-stylistic preference.⁵⁸⁴

Finally, the Qumran Aramaic translation presents several instances in which it seems that the translator has diverged from the word order in order to produce a more fluent and idiomatic Aramaic text for the reader.⁵⁸⁵ This suggestion is made plausible by the range of linguistic-stylistic adjustments which the translator has implemented along-

⁵⁷⁹ E.g. 40:5, 37:16-18.

⁵⁸⁰ 31:29, 34:10.

⁵⁸¹ 36:28.

⁵⁸² 24:25, 34:10.

⁵⁸³ 29:11, 36:11.

⁵⁸⁴ 20:5, 36:25.

⁵⁸⁵ 21:6, 34:13, 33:29, 30:16.

side the transposition. Although invariable adjustments of word order across the breadth of the textual sample are rare, the translator seems willing to override the default priority of adherence to the word order of the Hebrew in those cases when transposition will result in a rendering which is stylistically preferable. Although the limited size of the sample restricts any wide-sweeping conclusions, the lack of clear consistency and the presence of variation in proximity would seem to suggest that most of these transpositions should be understood as resulting from a conscious or unconscious stylistic preference on the part of the translator, rather than an inflexible linguistic constraint. This observation does not mean, however, that Muraoka is necessarily incorrect to suggest that these syntactic divergences from the Hebrew are somehow related to linguistic influences on the Aramaic of the translator, but further discussion of the sustainability of his thesis must be postponed until an analysis of the other Aramaic versions is undertaken.

It is a happy coincidence that one of the last verses to be found in the Qumran translation (42:10) preserves examples of transposition due to harmonisation and linguistic-stylistic preference. The occurrence of both in a single verse would seem to highlight the possibility that transposition is simply one part of the translator's overall strategy for creating an Aramaic equivalent of the Hebrew which would be acceptable to the intended readership. But, in light of previous examples which suggest the possibility that a variant *Vorlage* may lie behind the transposition, is it not possible to also attribute probable harmonising transpositions to a Hebrew scribe rather than the Aramaic translator? Perhaps, but the clear willingness of the translator to diverge from the word order in other instances for linguistic-stylistic reasons means that it is perfectly reasonable to assume that the harmonisations evident in the Qumran text may also be attributed to the translation process. And, if these adjustments of word order are to be seen as the work of the translator, it should also be recognised that a desire for harmonisation is, in and of itself, a stylistic preference of the translator.⁵⁸⁶

⁵⁸⁶ Of course this conclusion in turn raises other questions: what has caused the harmonising translator to prefer one word order rather than the other (i.e., why harmonise word order x with y rather than word order y with x)? Is the desire for harmonisation the result of an ideological concern or simply a stylistic one (and is it possible to entirely separate the former from the latter)?

CHAPTER 7

P-JOB

Having prefaced our analysis of transposition in 11Q10 with a brief discussion of word order in Aramaic, we now turn our attention to the subject of transposition in the Syriac versions, and more particularly, the Syriac version of Job. While it is true that the issue of the Syriac translators' divergence from the word order of their putative Hebrew *Vorlage* has received some treatment by scholars, much work remains to be done in this area.⁵⁸⁷ With regard to the Syriac translation of Job, while Mandl noticed early on that the Peshitta translation displayed deviations from the word order of the MT, these were largely and uncritically attributed to the *Vorlage* of the Syriac translator.⁵⁸⁸ In his treatment of the Hebrew book of Job, Eduard Dhorme also made passing reference to the Syriac translations' divergence from the word order evident in the Hebrew text of the MT.⁵⁸⁹ While this initial documentation of the phenomenon was useful, it fell to H. Szpek to undertake a more concerted and systematic approach to transposition in the Syriac version of Job.⁵⁹⁰ According to Szpek, ambiguity/error, intra-verse influence and

⁵⁸⁷ See for instance I. Avinery, 'The Position of the Declined KL in Syriac', 333; *idem*, 'The Position of the Demonstrative Pronoun in Syriac' *JNES* 34 (1975) 123-27; *idem*, 'Problèmes de Variation', 105-9; T. Muraoka, 'Remarks on the Syntax of Some types of Noun Modifier in Syriac', *JNES* 31 (1972) 192-94; J. Joosten, 'On the Ante-Position of the Attributive Adjective in Classical Syriac and Biblical Hebrew' *ZAH* 6 (1993) 188-192. For a recent list of work on all aspects of Syriac grammar see the bibliography compiled by Sebastian Brock in: T. Muraoka, *Classical Syriac*, 124-147.

⁵⁸⁸ A. Mandl, *Die Peschitta zum Hiob*, 24. In his defence, Mandl does tend to focus his discussion of transposition more at the level of the letter or character rather than words or clauses. The present study is primarily concerned with a more typically syntactic type of transposition, namely 'word order'.

⁵⁸⁹ E. Dhorme, *A Commentary on the Book of Job*, ccxviii 2:5, 10:11, 12:19, 16:22, 31:35, 32:3, 38:36. None of these examples falls within the textual material represented in all three Aramaic versions of Job.

⁵⁹⁰ H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 108-112. This is not to suggest that in their own verse-by-verse treatment of P-Job, Baumann and Rignell were not aware of these transpositions, but rather that neither attempted any type of systematic or intensive analysis.

the verse where both the translator of the Qumran text ([...] ^ווּמְרָא) and that of the targum (וּשְׁדִי) follow the Hebrew of the MT in providing a rendering of the divine name.⁵⁹⁴ In the case of the Syriac translation, however, the rendering of the divine name (ܐܠܗܐ) is to be found not at the beginning of 34:12b but rather following the negative particle which is supplied by the translator as an equivalent for לֹא. The apparent explanation for the Syriac translator's dislocation of the text is provided by the occurrence of the particle ܐܠܐ (whether it has taken the place of the Hebrew *waw* conjunction or has simply been added to the Syriac rendering for the sake of clarity or fluency). This seems likely because we see elsewhere in P-Job that Syriac linguistic-stylistic constraints dictate that the negative particle (ܐܠܐ) follow directly on the heels of ܐܠܐ when it is supplied. This is clearly illustrated by the Syriac version of MT 35:13 (וּשְׁדִי לֹא יִשְׁוֶה) where P-Job again requires that the negative immediately follow the supplied particle (ܐܠܐ ܐܠܐ ܐܠܐ ܐܠܐ).⁵⁹⁵ This separation of the normally adjacent negative particle from its corresponding verbal form (and the resultant interposing of the divine name) is seemingly a linguistic-stylistic modification which has followed on necessarily from the translator's addition of the particle (ܐܠܐ). The Syriac translation of 38:29 also shows a transposition resulting from a preceding modification in the context, but the antecedent adjustment as we will see below is different.

38:29 מִבֶּטֶן מִי יֵצֵא הַקָּרָח וּכְפֹר שָׁמַיִם מִי יֵלְדוּ:

11Q10 וּמִן בֶּטֶן מִן נֶפֶק גְּלִידָא וּשְׁקִין] xxxi, 7 מִן יֵלְדֵהָ

RtgJob מִן כְּרִיסָא דְּמֵאן נֶפֶק קָרְחָא וּגְלִידָא דְּשָׁמַיָא מִן יֵלִיד יְתִידָה:

P-Job מִן בֶּטֶן מִי יֵצֵא הַקָּרָח וּכְפֹר שָׁמַיִם מִי יֵלְדוּ: מִבֶּטֶן מִי יֵצֵא הַקָּרָח וּכְפֹר שָׁמַיִם מִי יֵלְדוּ:

Out of whose womb came the ice? And the hoary frost of heaven, who hath gendered it? ASV
From whose womb did the ice come forth, and who has given birth to the hoarfrost of heaven?
RSV

⁵⁹⁴ For the Aramaic versions' rendering of the divine name here see discussion above (page 184).

⁵⁹⁵ For other examples of this constraint see 2:10, 11:2 and 32:9.

previously modified text. The Syriac version of Job also presents cases where the perceived difficulty or ambiguity of the Hebrew has forced the translator to deploy transposition alongside other adjustments in an attempt to produce a fluent Syriac translation. At 37:12 the translator resorts to the inversion of adjacent forms as a means of resolving the difficulty of the source text.⁵⁹⁸ Another case is found in the Syriac version of Job 39:10:

39:10 תְּתַקְשֶׁר רִימָם בְּתֵלָם עֲבֹתָו אִם-יִשְׁדֹּד עֲמָקִים אַחֲרָיִךְ:
 11Q10 התקטר[?] (ר/אמא) ב[ניריה ויס]דר[בבקעה אחרִיך
 RtgJob איפשר/אושר דתקטור רימנא בתלמא ד/באשִׁשְׁלִיה
 אין ישדד גלימתא מן-בתרד:
 P-Job דלמא אשו אנט נוא בל מולס דזמא. מוזז פוזא
 באזא במא.

Can you bind him in the furrow with ropes, or will he harrow the valleys after you? RSV

Can you bind the wild ox in a furrow with ropes? Or will he harrow the valleys after you? NAS

Because the syntax of Job 39:10 has seemed problematic, it has long been the object of emendation at the hands of the commentators.⁵⁹⁹ Both English translations above seem to follow Hahn and Stickel in reading Hebrew עֲבֹתָו as an *accusative* of the instrument ('in the furrow *with* his cord'). Other commentators (including Siegfried and Budde) have found this option appealing but have resorted to emending the text (בְּעֲבֹתָו) rather than stretching the grammar. Long before it was suggested by Dillman, the majority of the witnesses to the targum tradition understood the relationship between the last two lexemes in the clause as a genitival one—the *dalath* supplied by the targumist in

⁵⁹⁸ MT: מִתְּתַקֵּף בְּתַחְבּוּלָתִיו לִפְעֻלָּם P-Job: ܡܬܬܬܩܦ ܒܬܚܒܘܠܬܝܐ ܠܦܥܘܠܐܡܐ. Like the immediately preceding case in 38:29, the Syriac translator has apparently taken the 3rd masc. sg. suffix of ܠִפְעֻלָּם as a resumptive reference to the preceding ܒܬܚܒܘܠܬܝܐ. Again the translator has simply produced a simpler version based on the equivalence of ܠܦܥܘܠܐܡܐ = ܒܬܚܒܘܠܬܝܐ.

⁵⁹⁹ See S.R. Driver and G.B. Gray, *The Book of Job* (II), 317 for full listing of authorities and discussion of issues.

order to make sense of the text.⁶⁰⁰ It seems clear that the Syriac translator's solution to the perceived syntactic problem was to transpose its renderings of רִים and עֲבָתָן with the result that in the Syriac ܐܬܝܬܐ is connected to ܐܠ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܠܝܐ 'upon (his) neck of'⁶⁰¹ and ܐܬܝܬܐ becomes the direct object of the verb. ('Will you bind the yoke upon the neck of the wild ox?')⁶⁰² While modern commentators demonstrate that there are other ways of making sense of the Hebrew text, the translator of P-Job has clearly seen a deviation from the word order of the MT as being the preferred means of creating a fluent translation.⁶⁰³

The Syriac translator's deviations from the word order of the Hebrew may stem not only from preceding modifications or problematic source texts, but also from the influence of Hebrew texts in the vicinity which share some features with a given text, but present a different word order. As the following examples make clear, the proximity at which this influence is exerted may vary considerably.

⁶⁰⁰ According to C. Mangan, *The Targum of Job*, 84 the 2nd edition of the Rabbinic Bible supplies *beth*.

⁶⁰¹ Because P-Job provides a proximate equivalent in 36:28, the translation here of MT בְּתֵלֶם 'to a furrow' as ܐܠ ܡܠܟܐ 'upon his neck' suggests that the translator has felt the awkwardness of the Hebrew construction and sought to provide a smoother contextual rendering. Interestingly, E. Dhorme, *A Commentary on the Book of Job*, 602 without apparent reference to the Syriac, favours an emendation of the Hebrew which results in: הֲתִקְשֶׁר בְּעֵנְקוֹ עֲבֹת 'Will you bind a rope about his neck?' Either the translator of P-Job has read a different *Vorlage* or has anticipated the conclusions of the modern text critics.

⁶⁰² The independent suggestion of B. Duhm, *Das Buch Hiob*, 190 that the original Hebrew text may have read: ܐܠܝܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ provides some interesting parallels to P-Job's modification, but the willingness of both Duhm and the Syriac translator to diverge from the MT word order should certainly not be taken as necessarily signifying an alternate *Vorlage*.

⁶⁰³ An example of a transposition arising from a preceding error or misreading is found at 41:11. Because the Syriac translator willingly reproduces virtually the same word order (Pp – S – V) of the MT in the following verse 12, the new word order of the Syriac verse 11a (V – Pp – S) ܐܬܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ (ܐܬܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ) might well be a result of the translator's misreading of the first two characters of כִּדְוֹרִי as the comparative particle 'like'. See H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 241 for a similar case of P-Job's creation of a simile through incorrect word-division.

38:32 הַתְּצִיא מִזְרוֹת בְּעֵתוֹ וְעִישׁ עַל-בְּנֵיהָ תִּנְחֶם:

11Q10 [...]א על בניה תיאשׁ]

RtgJob התפיק שטרי מזלייא בזמניה וזנתא ועיש על בנהא תדברנון:

P-Job מ א אפפ בללא כננא. אה פאם אנה כאפ בללא.

Can you lead forth the Mazzaroth in their season, or can you guide the Bear with its children?
RSV

Each of the respective Aramaic versions seems to have provided an equivalent for the final Hebrew verb in the verse תִּנְחֶם.⁶⁰⁴ While the Qumran translator supplies a form of 'יאשׁ' 'to give up' it is difficult to know how this is related to the Hebrew of the source text.⁶⁰⁵ The Syriac translator seems to have understood תִּנְחֶם as being derived from either נחה⁶⁰⁶ or נחם 'to comfort, console'⁶⁰⁷ rather than נוח.⁶⁰⁸ Interestingly, as both Gordis and Rignell have noted, the rendering supplied by P-Job אנה פאם '(will) you be a protector'⁶⁰⁹ would seem to be paralleled by the understanding of this verse in the Talmud.⁶¹⁰ Our concern here, however, is the position of the respective renderings. It is clear that the Qumran and targum translations follow the Hebrew in supplying the verb in the final position, but in the Syriac version, אנה פאם comes not at the end but instead at the beginning of 38:32b.⁶¹¹ But how is this discrepancy in word order vis-à-vis the MT to be best explained? At least part of the solution seems to lie in the surrounding

⁶⁰⁴ E. Dhorme, *A Commentary on the Book of Job*, 591 understands this form as a hiphil derived from נחה but see P-Job's translation to this verse for another interpretation of this form.

⁶⁰⁵ *Editio princeps*, 73; F. Martinez et al., *Qumran Cave 11*, 155, M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 151. It may simply be a contextual translation in parallel with הַתְּצִיא 'will you bring out' of the first clause.

⁶⁰⁶ E. Baumann, 'Verwendbarkeit der Peshita', (1900) 274 suggests that the P-Job's Hebrew *Vorlage* contained a form of this verb.

⁶⁰⁷ G. Rignell, *The Peshitta to the Book of Job*, 326.

⁶⁰⁸ As suggested in F. Martinez et al., *Qumran Cave 11*, 155.

⁶⁰⁹ Payne-Smith, 494.

⁶¹⁰ bT. Berakhot 58b as noted by R. Gordis, *The Book of Job*, 451 and G. Rignell, *The Peshitta to the Book of Job*, 326.

⁶¹¹ P-Job's tendency to translate Hebrew imperfects with Syriac participle (+ independent pronoun) is dis-

19:13 אַחֵי מַעְלֵי הָרְחִיק וְיָדְעֵי אֶף-זָּרוּ מִמֶּנִּי:

11Q10 הֲרַחֲקוּ וַיִּדְעֵי ב. [...]

RtgJob אַחֵי מַעְלֵי אֲרַחֲקוּ וַיִּדְעֵי הֵךְ עֲבָרוּ חֲלוֹנָאֵי מִנִּי:

P-Job אַחֵי אֲרַחֲסוּ מִנִּי. מַלְכֵי חֲבֹס.

My brethren from me He hath put far off, And mine acquaintances surely have been estranged from me. YLT

He has alienated my brothers from me; my acquaintances are completely estranged from me. NIV

While all three Aramaic versions provide *aphel/haphel* forms of רחק/רחק in rendering the *hiphil* form of the cognate Hebrew verb, only RtgJob follows the MT in understanding the verb as a direct causative. Instead of understanding ‘brothers’ as the object of the verb, as is the case in the targum אחיי , P-Job and 11Q10 appear to interpret ‘brothers’ as the subject of the verb which is then understood as a plural form of an indirect causative ‘they are distant...’.⁶¹⁷ Although 11Q10 is not entirely preserved here, it seems quite likely that both the Qumran translator and the targumist parallel the word order of the MT (O-Pp-V). The Syriac version on the other hand displays a different word order, presenting the verb before the prepositional phrase מִנִּי אֲרַחֲסוּ . A comparison of the two halves of this verse suggests that the word order of 19:13b in general, and the existence of the prepositional phrase מִמֶּנִּי in particular, has led to the transposition of מַעְלֵי הָרְחִיק in the Syriac translation (אֲרַחֲסוּ מִנִּי).⁶¹⁸ Thus we see that while the preceding example represented the influence of a more remote text, the present instance shows that transposition may take place under the constraints of a more immediate influence (i.e. within the same verse). A similar situation seems to obtain in the English ver-

⁶¹⁷ While this modification may reflect intra-verse influence (the subject of the following clause is plural), it may well be the case that the readings of 11Q10 and P-Job should be attributed to an underlying Hebrew variant. See B.E. Zuckerman, *The Process of Translation*, 88-9 for a discussion of this possibility.

⁶¹⁸ The failure of the Syriac translator to provide a rendering of מִמֶּנִּי in 19:13b seems then to be a result of his perception of its redundancy in light of the provision of מִנִּי in v.13a.

sions of the Hebrew text where we see that retention of the Hebrew word order creates an unnatural and unidiomatic English rendering (YLT). A post-positioning of the prepositional phrase ('from me') on the other hand results in a more fluent translation (NIV).⁶¹⁹

עַל־מָה אֲדָנִיָּה הִטָּבְעוּ אֹן מִי־יָרָה אֲבָן פִּנְתָּהּ: 38:6

11Q10 או xxx, 4 על מא אשית אח**דון⁶²⁰ או מן הקים אבן חזיתה

RtgJob על מה סומכיאה אשמעו או מן שדא אבן זייתאה:

P-Job בל מוא מרמ בבא. אה מנה צא חאפא באמלם.

On what were its bases sunk, or who laid its cornerstone, RSV

What supports its pillars at their bases? Who laid its cornerstone NJB

While all three Aramaic translators of Job seem to have generally understood the meaning of MT אֲדָנִיָּה 'its bases' (11Q10 אֲשִׁיָּה 'its foundations' RtgJob סומכיאה 'its bases, sockets') the equivalent provided by the Syriac translator ܒܒܐܠܡܐ 'its ends/limits' may perhaps be seen as a shorthand allusion to a fuller, more idiomatic understanding, ܒܒܐܠܡܐ ܕܐܪܥܐ 'the ends of the earth'.⁶²¹ In any case it is not the precise character of the respective renderings which is our primary interest but rather their location vis-à-vis other elements in the translation. The Qumran and targumic translations approximate the Hebrew in following their renderings of עַל־מָה with אֲשִׁיָּה and סומכיאה respectively. While this leaves the verb to the final position in their renderings, in the case of P-Job the verb is not to be found at the end of the clause. The *S* - *V* word order of the Hebrew is abandoned by the translator of the Syriac version who prefers to invert the two forms in his rendering (ܡܪܡ ܒܒܐܠܡܐ). The basic synonymous parallelism of the two

⁶¹⁹ Of course where the Syriac tolerates the object in the initial position, the English of the NIV places it after the verb.

⁶²⁰ F. Martinez *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 11*, 149-50 claim to clearly read the *waw* and identify the nunation (ו-) as an irregular form of the 3rd masc. pl. perfect.

halves of the verse is evident and it is not surprising that the generic verb supplied by the Syriac translator (ܡܬܥ) in v.6a is derived from the same root as that which is provided by the Qumran translator (הקים) when faced with Hebrew קִי-יָהּ.⁶²² In light of the semantic similarity then, the transposition of the Hebrew (*Interrog – S – V*) encountered in the first half of the Syriac rendering (ܠܐ ܡܬܥ ܡܬܥ ܡܬܥ [Interrog – V – S]) is quite intelligible as a harmonisation of the word order found in the latter portion (*Interrog – V – O*).

39:9 הֲיִנְאָכָה נָיִם עֲבָדְךָ אִם-יִלְיִן עַל-אֲבוֹסֶךָ:

11Q10 הִיבֵא רֵאמָן אֶל מִפְּלַחַךְ אֹן הַיְּבִית עַל xxxii, 9 אוריד

RtgJob איפשר דצאבי רימנא למפלחך אין יבית על אורוותך:

P-Job ܕܠܥܐ ܡܬܥܠܦܡܐ ܕܡܬܥ ܕܢܦܠܫܐ. ܐܡ ܕܠܥܐ ܠܐ ܐܡܕܝܬ ܒܐܡܝܬܐ

Is the wild ox willing to serve you? Will he spend the night at your crib? RSV

As in the above example, here at 39:9 the Hebrew text presents its readers and translators with a parallel disjunctive question. Whereas there, the disjunctive Hebrew particle is provided and followed by the Aramaic translators of all three versions, here the Qumran and Syriac translators provide the Aramaic disjunctive particle ܐܢ/ܐܡ in order to explicitly mark in their respective renderings this feature which on this occasion has not been supplied in the Hebrew.⁶²³ As well, all three Aramaic versions derive their equivalents for the following Hebrew verb יִלְיִן from the same Aramaic root⁶²⁴ and, set-

⁶²¹ See Payne-Smith, 398.

⁶²² H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 172 cites other examples of ܡܬܥ being used in such a manner by the Syriac translator due to lack of lexical resources.

⁶²³ For further discussion of P-Job's treatment of disjunctive questions see H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 211-12.

⁶²⁴ P-Job and the RtgJob consistently render לִיִן with ܠܝܢ/ܠܝܢܐ (see 39:28, 41:14) whereas 11Q10 provides an alternative equivalent in 39:28. Here at 39:9b, the Syriac predictably renders the Hebrew non-

ting aside minor orthographic and morphological differences, each translation presents the same rendering of the prepositional phrase which follows in the Hebrew.⁶²⁵ The difference between the three versions is again to be found in the order in which their translation is represented. While the targumist and Qumran translator follow the Hebrew, P-Job diverges from the MT word order (*V-Pp*) by presenting the verb in the final position in the clause.⁶²⁶ The word order of the reconstituted Syriac clause (*Interrog – Pp – V*) is similar to that of the first half of the verse (*Interrog – [aux] – S – V [main]*) in terms of the post-positioning of the verb and once again it seems reasonable to assume that this similarity represents the influence of the syntax of the first half of the verse on the word order of the latter.

...ל בל[... 4QJob^a

יִחְלֹץ עֲנִי בְּעֲנִי וַיִּגַּל בְּלִחְץ אָזְנָם: 36:15

ויפרק [...] די אדניהון 11Q10

יפצי עניא בסגופיה ומפרסם בדוחקא משמעהון: RtgJob

ܘܥܠܡܐ ܕܡܠܚܐ ܕܡܠܚܐ ܕܡܠܚܐ ܕܡܠܚܐ ܕܡܠܚܐ ܕܡܠܚܐ P-Job

He draweth out the afflicted in his affliction, And uncovereth in oppression their ear. YLT

He delivers the afflicted by their affliction, and opens their ear by adversity. RSV

Although it seems obvious that 11Q10 diverges to some extent from the text provided in the MT, it is not entirely clear how the Qumran translator has dealt with 36:15b.⁶²⁷ All three versions have provided equivalents of אָזְנָם, 'their ears' but both

perfective form with a participle (ܒܠ) as earlier in the verse (ܡܠܚܐ=ܕܡܠܚܐ). (See H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 80).

⁶²⁵ (MT: ܥܠ-ܐܒܝܬܐ 11Q10: ܥܠ ܐܘܪܝܝܬ RtgJob: ܥܠ ܐܘܪܝܬ P-Job: ܥܠ ܐܘܪܝܬ); RtgJob preserves an alternate translation to the final word of the verse under the usual rubric: {ܐܒܪܝܝܬ}. See D.M. Stec, *The Text of the Targum of Job*, 283.

⁶²⁶ H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 108.

⁶²⁷ The lack of preserved context does not allow a reconstruction of 11Q10's motive for adding ܕܝ (whether relative pronoun or indicator of the genitive). See M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 'Morphology' (Appendix II). While both the *Editio princeps*, 64 and F. Martinez *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 11*, 140

the targum translation and that of the Syriac text present interesting divergences. Here as elsewhere in RtgJob (28:22, 36:10) the targumist provides **משמעהון** ‘their hearing’ as opposed to supplying an equivalent anatomical term.⁶²⁸ In none of these cases does either the Qumran translation or the Syriac version of Job provide anything similar and it seems most likely that with regard to the ‘ear’ at any rate, this type of substitution of an abstraction (i.e. hearing) for the part of the body which is responsible for an activity (i.e. ear) is unique to RtgJob amongst the Aramaic versions of Job.⁶²⁹ As for P-Job, it seems that the translator of the Hebrew has either read or mis-read **אֶזְנֵם** as **אֶרְחָם** and rendered accordingly **ܐܪܚܡܐ** ‘their way’⁶³⁰ What is interesting to note is that in the case of the Hebrew of the MT and the Aramaic of the targum (and probably 11Q10), the text representing ‘their ears’ appears in the final position in the verse. On the other hand, the Syriac version does not place its erroneous equivalent for this Hebrew term at the end but instead post-positions the prepositional phrase (**ܒܥܪܚܡܐ**) which corresponds to MT **בְּעֶזְרָךְ**. While the translator’s provision of **ܐܪܚܡܐ** ‘their way’ for ‘their ears’ means that the semantic parallelism between v.15a and 15b is disturbed in the Syriac version, it is nevertheless useful to examine the preceding half of the verse for suggestions as to the cause of this transposition. In the Hebrew text of the MT the word order of v.15a (*V – O – Pp*) is at odds with that of the second half of the verse (*V – Pp – O*).⁶³¹ The literal English translation of YLT—like RtgJob—follows the Hebrew in preserving this final position of the object (‘...And uncovereth in oppression their ear’). In P-Job and most

see **אֶדְנִיָּהוּ** as the last word of its translation of v.15, the reconstruction offered by Fitzmyer and Harrington (30) allows for the possibility of further text before the beginning of the extremely fragmentary translation of v.16.

⁶²⁸ Usually however the translator prefers to render with the Aramaic cognate (See 4:12; 12:11; 13: 1, 17; 15:21; 29:11; 33: 8, 16; 34:3; 42:5).

⁶²⁹ See however 36:32 and particularly 39:27 for signs of this treatment with regard to (mouth/speaking) in the Aramaic versions. There can really be no question of the circumlocution in this case being an anti-anthropomorphism for here at 36:10 and 15 the ears are those of humans.

⁶³⁰ Noted by E. Baumann, ‘Verwendbarkeit der Peshita’, (1899) 44; G. Rignell, *The Peshitta to the Book of Job*, 300.

⁶³¹ The minute fragments provided by 4QJob^a seem to confirm the order of the MT in v.15b at least. (PAM 42.638).

other English translations, however, the constraints of intra-verse influence have apparently been felt more strongly, with the resultant translations of the same Hebrew text mirroring the word order of v.15a ($V-O-Pp$).⁶³²

עֲדָה נָא גִּאֲוֹן וְגִבָּה וְהוֹד וְהִדָּר תִּלְבָּשׁ: 40:10

העדי נא גוה ורם רוח וזו{ו}י«ו» והדר ויקר תלבש 11Q10

אתקין כדון גיותניא וגובהא זיוא ושבהורא תלבש: RtgJob

לבש אהמלא מלכותא. אהמלא. ואלא מסודא. P-Job

Put on, I pray thee, excellency and loftiness, Yea, honour and beauty put on. YLT

Deck yourself with majesty and dignity; clothe yourself with glory and splendor. RSV

The Hebrew text of Job 40:10 provides a fine example of synonymous parallelism—the meaning of the two clauses of the verse being not identical, but substantially the same. Despite the lexical variations of the translations, it is clear that all three Aramaic versions follow the word order of the Hebrew ($V-O^{I\ conj} O^2$) in the first portion of the verse. But in the second half of the verse, the order of the elements is reversed in the Hebrew text such that the verb is supplanted by the noun phrase (הוֹד וְהִדָּר), and, instead of assuming the initial position, takes its place at the end of the verse (תִּלְבָּשׁ). A glance at the translations found in the Qumran and targum texts shows that the translators have employed the cognate verbal forms (תלבש) in their respective renderings and that they have also followed the Hebrew in placing their verbal equivalents in a final position in v.10b. In these two versions, the rendering of the noun phrase הוֹד וְהִדָּר also follows the Hebrew with זו{ו}י«ו» והדר ויקר⁶³³ and זיוא ושבהורא taking up their

⁶³² The stylistic pressure to conform the word order of v.15b to v.1 may have been increased by the fact that the prepositional phrases in question both involve *beth* (בְּעִנְיָן / בְּלִחְזִין).

⁶³³ 11Q10 has provided a doublet הדר ויקר in rendering MT הִדָּר presumably as a result of the fact that these two words are commonly associated both in Hebrew and in Aramaic (both in translation and original composition). See M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 159; F. Martinez *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 11*, 162. As at 39:20 and 38:8, this double rendering here appears to be related to the translator's willingness to include double renderings as part of his translational repertoire.

respective initial positions in the clause. With regard to the Syriac version, however, it is clear that the verbal (ܐܪܬܝܗܝ) and nominal (ܐܪܬܝܗܝ) equivalents have been inverted in the translator's rendering. It is equally clear that the most likely motivation for such a divergence from the source text is the word order of the first half of the verse (verb-initial) which is, as we have seen, willingly reproduced by the Syriac translator there and successfully imitated here in the second half of the verse. While the English version of Young parallels the Qumran and targum translations in its faithful replication of the Hebrew (verb-final) word order, the RSV and some other English versions of the Hebrew prefer to modify the word order in much the same manner as the Syriac translator has done here.

40:26 ܩܬܝܫܝܡ ܐܓܡܢܝܢ ܒܥܦܝܐ ܝܒܚܝܘܬ ܦܩܝܒ ܠܚܝܐ:

11Q10 ܬܬܫܘܐ xxxv, 5 ܙܡܡ ܒܥܦܐ ܝܒܚܪܬܝܚ ܦܩܝܒ ܠܫܬܐ

RtgJob ܐܝܦܫܪ/ܐܘܫܪ ܕܬܫܘܝ ܐܓܡܢܐ ܒܢܚܝܪܝܐ {ܠܐ} ܐܘܢܩܠܐ
{ܠܐ} ܝܒܫܝܠܐ ܝܒܫܝܪܐ ܦܩܝܒ ܠܝܫܬܝܐ:

P-Job ܝܘܬܐ ܐܬܐ ܦܪܝܕܐܐ ܒܦܪܝܬܐ. ܡܢܒܐ ܐܬܐ ܦܒܡ ܒܥܝܬܐ.

Dost thou put a reed in his nose? And with a thorn pierce his jaw? YLT

Can you put a rope in his nose, or pierce his jaw with a hook? RSV

In this parallel couplet describing the impotence of humankind in the face of Leviathan, the poet challenges the reader to take the sea beast captive. In the second half of the verse, where the MT provides the potential means of Leviathan's capture **בְּחֹוֹת** 'with a briar, hook, thorn' the Aramaic translators follow suit with appropriate equivalents. While the Qumran translation shows **חרתך** 'thorn'⁶³⁴—a borrowing from Persian

⁶³⁴ From *xurtaka* meaning 'thorn'. See J.C. Greenfield and S. Shaked, 'Three Iranian Words', 37-45. Although this form does not appear with this precise meaning until relatively late, Sokoloff's suggestion (M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 162; see also *Editio princeps*, 81) that this is a nominal form from **חרת** with 2nd masc. sg. suffix added in order to conform it with the verb in the clause (2 masc. sg.) seems difficult in light of the fact that the most likely source of influence for a harmonisation of this sort (i.e., the

lexical stock—P-Job's translation **ܡܝܨܥܐ** which, as Rignell has noted, makes little sense as 'in his leap' or 'in his navel', appears to possess an admittedly rare idiomatic meaning not dissimilar to that of the Hebrew.⁶³⁵ It may be that the various RtgJob witnesses which preserve a double rendering here (**ܡܝܨܥܐ** **ܡܝܨܥܐ** 'and with a thorn and with a hook/ring') do so because of the ambiguous nature of the Hebrew.⁶³⁶ If it is clear then that each of the Aramaic versions does make an attempt to represent the prepositional phrase **בְּחֹוֹךְ**, it is also evident that the location of their respective equivalents vis-à-vis their translation as a whole is radically different. The Qumran and targum representations of the prepositional phrase appear at the beginning of the stich as in the Hebrew. The Syriac version, however, deviates from the word order of the Hebrew by fronting the verbal form (**ܡܝܨܥܐ**).⁶³⁷ Again it seems that the influence of the word order in the first half of the verse has led to this reshuffle in the Syriac version. While the Hebrew text of 40:26 displays *semantic* parallelism, the word order is far from balanced ([Int] – V – DO – Pp / Pp – V – DO). The influence of the word order in v.26a on the translation of v.26b, is as clear in the Syriac version **ܡܝܨܥܐ ܡܝܨܥܐ ܡܝܨܥܐ** (V – DO – Pp) as it is in the English of the RSV (...or pierce his jaw with a hook?).⁶³⁸

parallel word in 26a **ܡܝܨܥܐ** has no such suffix nor does 11Q10's translation of it (**ܡܝܨܥܐ**). Why then would the 2nd masc. sg. suffix be added in the second half of the verse when it was not provided in the first half?

⁶³⁵ C. Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum*. [2nd ed.] (Halle: 1928) 802^a. G. Rignell, *The Peshitta to the Book of Job*, 345 in fact favours an even more unlikely rendering: 'in his wall' (of the mouth?). What does seem clear is that the translator has added a 3rd masc. sg. suffix to the end of his rendering in order to harmonise it with his translation at the end of v26a.

⁶³⁶ **ܡܝܨܥܐ** (**ܡܝܨܥܐ**) give numerous glosses which perhaps reflect the uncertainty surrounding the rare use of **ܡܝܨܥܐ** 'thorn, thornbush' as a fish-hook (elsewhere only at 2 Chron. 33:11; see KB³). Because the two words (**ܡܝܨܥܐ** **ܡܝܨܥܐ**) occur without an intervening rubric **ܡܝܨܥܐ** (see R. Weiss, *התרגום הארמי לספר איוב*, 152 and D.M. Stec, *The Text of the Targum of Job*, 325 [n.237]) it would be unwise to rule out an original doublet created by the translator, but the occurrence of each of the two lexemes as a marginal reading (**ܡܝܨܥܐ**) reminds us of the possibility that this double rendering has resulted from later textual conflation.

⁶³⁷ On the Syriac tendency to translate the Hebrew imperfect with a participle see note to 38:32 above.

⁶³⁸ Again Young's Literal Translation follows the Hebrew word order in the second half of the verse like

38:28 הַיֵּשׁ-לַמָּטָר אֵב אֹן מִי-הוֹלִיד אֲגִלִּי-טָל:

11Q10 האיתי למטרא אב או מן xxxi, 6 ילד^ו [ע]נני טלא

RtgJob האית למטרא אבא או מן אוליד רסיסי טלא:

ନିର୍ଦ୍ଦେଶକ ପଦର ଲାଭ ନେଇ ନିର୍ଦ୍ଦେଶକଙ୍କୁ ନିର୍ଦ୍ଦେଶକ P-Job

Has the rain a father, or who has begotten the drops of dew? RSV

At 38:28 we encounter a transposition involving the Syriac existential particle ܕܠܐ. The Hebrew particle שׁוֹׁ is provided with its expected Aramaic equivalent by all three translators while the interrogative receives explicit representation only in the Qumran and targum versions.⁶³⁹ These latter two translations also reproduce the order of the Hebrew text by supplying virtually identical renderings (הֲאִיִּי לְמִטְרָא אֵב /

האִית לְמִטְרָא אֲבָּא). The Syriac version by contrast diverges from the Hebrew source text in inverting the possessor (ܠܡܬܪܐ) and thing possessed (ܐܒܬܐ). Because, as we will see below, the ‘normal’ Syriac construction sees ܐܬܐ followed immediately by ܠ (+ suffix) it is somewhat surprising to find the Syriac translator inverting the source text in the manner clearly evident in his rendering. While in the case of the Peshitta and Old Syriac versions of Matthew the appearance of an explicit noun phrase (represented in the present instance by ܠܡܬܪܐ) almost never precludes the use of the full possessive expression ‘(+ suffix) ܐܬܐ’, here in Job the Syriac idiom of the translator apparently allows for a mimicking of the Hebrew form (if not, in this case, the order).⁶⁴⁰ But if the basic structure is reproduced why has the transposition occurred in the Syriac render-

11Q10 and RtgJob.

⁶³⁹ For P-Job's treatment of the interrogative see above 38:28 (chapter 3).

⁶⁴⁰ Rather than for instance ܡܠ ܕܐܪ ܕܐܪ ܕܐܪܝܬܐ. For an exception to this rule see J. Joosten, *The Syriac Language of the Peshitta and Old Syriac Versions of Matthew* Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics 22 (Leiden: 1996) 102 where however the possessor (ܕܐܪܝܬܐ ܡܠܐ) takes its expected place immediately following ܕܐܪ.

the Syriac translator accompanies his omission of the interrogative pronoun with a less precise rendering of the Hebrew (חַם נִאֵץ '[who has loosed] from him the yoke'). The relevant aspect of the Syriac translator's rendering here, however, is that while the Hebrew expression (and equivalents in 11Q10 and RtgJob) comes at the beginning of the clause, P-Job's translation appears at the end. As with the preceding example, it seems that the first half of the verse has been the source for the modification in the Syriac version. While the MT displays non-parallel word order in v.5a (*[Int] – V – O – Adj*) and v.5b (*O – [Int] – V*), the text of the Syriac translator shows an inversion of the second clause presumably under the influence of the *V-O* word order evident in the parallel clause. (חַם נִאֵץ) (____) פִּלְגַּל חַם נִאֵץ v.5a *[Int] – V – O – Adj* ; v.5b *V – Pp – O*. Again, as with the previous example, we see that this same inversion resulting from intra-verse influence is also found in one English translation tradition (RSV), while the other attempts to preserve more closely the word order of the MT (YLT).

39:6 אֲשֶׁר-שָׁמַתִּי עֲרֶבְהָ בֵּיתוֹ, וּמִשְׁכְּנֹתָיו מְלִחָה:
 11Q10 דִּי שׁוּיִת דַּחֲשֶׁת בֵּיתָהּ וּמִדְּרָהּ בְּאֶרֶץ מְלִיחָה
 RtgJob דִּי שׁוּיִתִּי מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל בֵּיתָהּ וּמִשְׁכְּנֹתָיָא אֶרֶץ צִדִּיא:
 P-Job ܕܒܒܝܬܝ ܦܡܢܬܐ ܕܥܪܒܐ ܡܠܚܐ ܡܠܬܚܐ ܡܠܬܚܐ.

Whose house I have made the wilderness, And his dwellings the barren land, YLT
 to whom I have given the steppe for his home, and the salt land for his dwelling place? RSV

In continuing the description of the wild ass, the Hebrew poet follows 39 verse 5 with another set of parallel stichs in verse 6. The Aramaic versions all provide fairly close representation of the Hebrew text, but again our attention is focused on the second half of the verse. The use of מְלִיחָה in the Hebrew text has prompted minor adjustments on the part of the respective translators, with each providing some form of supplementa-

⁶⁴³ See above chapter 3 (39:5).

tion. In each, MT מִלְחָה 'saltiness' has been contextualised (in parallel with MT עֲרֶבָה 'desert-plain, steppe'), with the targum and the Qumran translation providing אֶרֶע 'land' and the Syriac translator supplying ܐܪܥܐ 'place'.⁶⁴⁴ The targumist diverges from the other two Aramaic translators in interpreting MT מִלְחָה as אֶרֶע צְרִיָּא 'the desolate land', but in terms of word order it is again the Syriac version which parts company from the Hebrew source text and the Qumran and targum versions.⁶⁴⁵ While the equivalents of MT מִשְׁכְּנֹתָיו 'his dwelling(s)' found in 11Q10 (מִדְרָה) and RtgJob (מִשְׁכְּנוֹדֵי) are similarly located immediately following the conjunction, the Syriac version inverts the order of the source text supplying ܡܢ ܐܪܥܐ last.⁶⁴⁶ As with the preceding verse, the determining factor in this inversion seems to be the word order displayed in the parallel stich. While the order of objects in the two stichs in the Hebrew is not parallel ($[rel]V-O^1-O^2 / O^2-O^1$) the modified Syriac translation imposes uniformity on the text (ܡܢ ܐܪܥܐ = ܡܢ ܐܪܥܐ).⁶⁴⁷ Again the same English versions line up in a manner which closely parallels the Aramaic translations. Whereas the RSV's stylistic preference for parallel word order has resulted in the same adjustment evident in the Syriac version, a

⁶⁴⁴ It is difficult to determine whether this modification was made because the Aramaic/Syriac dialects in use lacked the lexical resources to provide a single-word equivalent (as has been suggested at this juncture for 11Q10 by M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 153 and for P-Job by H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 161) or simply because the respective translators all perceived the MT to require further specification. As Sokoloff notes, RtgJob's and 11Q10's choice of 'land' may have been influenced by the occurrence of this very same Hebrew construction in Jeremiah 17:6. (|| with עֲרֶבָה). Szpek's apparent misreading of P-Job's text as ܐܪܥܐ leads her to suggest this as a factor which has influenced P-Job's translation as well.

⁶⁴⁵ The targum translation is a logical interpretation of a land rendered infertile and inhospitable by salinisation.

⁶⁴⁶ 11Q10 and P-Job do not preserve the plural form of the Hebrew מִשְׁכְּנֹתָיו 'his dwelling(s)' which appears to be primarily limited to poetic texts in the Hebrew Bible. (See *BDB*, 1015 [3]) Both translators include the suffix but transform the plural into a singular, harmonising this with the preceding singular בֵּיתוֹ. While H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 66 attributes this modification to language difference noting this same phenomenon in P-Job at 17:1, she recognises that language difference and intra-verse influence need not be mutually exclusive motivators in the modification of number.

⁶⁴⁷ Although dissimilar in terms of their treatment of word order, it is interesting to note that both 11Q10 (בְּאֶרְצָה מְלִיחָה) and P-Job (ܐܪܥܐ ܡܠܝܚܐ) choose to supply the same preposition ܒܐ 'in' as a means of making sense of the text.

verbal element of the clause we see that the targum and Qumran translations (לא ישמע) provide identical Aramaic cognates as equivalents of MT שמע. P-Job, on the other hand, contextualises its translation of this term through the selection of a participle form of Syr. ܬܬܝܬܝܐ 'to fear/be afraid'.⁶⁵⁰ For the third time in as many verses, however, we see that whatever the general similarities between the Aramaic versions, they are divided when it comes to the order in which they represent the elements of the source text. Here again the verb-initial word order of the first stich in the Hebrew has been followed by the Syriac translator not only in his rendering of the first half of the verse (ܬܬܝܬܝܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ) but also in the second (ܕܥܝܪܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ) where the Hebrew does not reproduce this order. And once more, we see that the treatment of the Hebrew text at the hands of the Aramaic translators finds a parallel in the adjustment (RSV) or lack thereof (YLT) in the English versions.

Earlier in our discussion of word order divergence resulting from intra-verse influence we encountered an example in Job 39:9. When considered alongside the above three cases (39:5, 6 and 7) in its textual vicinity, and the many others discussed above, this example highlights a sustained effort on the part of the Syriac translator to harmonise the word order of verses where the semantic parallelism within the verse is not reflected in the arrangement of the words.⁶⁵¹

ket/labour), ruler' in the plural suggests that these translators understood the Hebrew singular as a collective. At the same time, the Qumran and Syriac versions' choice of an equivalent based on ܬܬܝܬܝܐ 'to rule' implies that it is this aspect of the polysemous MT noun which makes the most sense in the context (i.e., shoutings of the ruler [vs. donkey-driver] || tumult of the city) See G. Rignell, *The Peshitta to the Book of Job*, 331.

⁶⁵⁰ In conjunction with this substitution the translator was required to add the preposition ܐܢܝܢ 'to be afraid' of'. In light of the previous stich's reference to the beast's contempt for the noise/crowd of the city, the translator of P-Job apparently inferred a more specific meaning and rendered the general Heb. verb שמע 'to hear' accordingly as 'to be afraid'. See H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 186 for other examples of this specification and contextualisation of a common Hebrew lexeme.

⁶⁵¹ One final example of such harmonisation is to be found in the Syriac version of Job 29:8. Whereas the Hebrew ܕܥܝܪܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ displays an unbalanced word order (V – S – V//S – V – V) the Syriac translation modifies the word order of the second stich such that balance is achieved (ܕܥܝܪܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ).

Finally we turn to cases of transposition in the Syriac version of Job whose origins are not to be discerned in a neighbouring stich, preceding modification or problematic text but rather in the rendering of the Hebrew text and its reconstitution according to the linguistic and stylistic canons of the Syriac dialect used by the translator. Again, distinguishing between optional and involuntary modifications will not always be possible, but those cases which do not fall into the category of necessary linguistic adjustments will of necessity be attributed to the stylistic preference of the translator.

38:7 בְּרֶן-יַחַד כְּנֻכְבֵּי בִקְרָ וַיִּלְיֻעוּ כָּל-בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים:

11Q10 במזהר 5 xxx, 5 כחדא כוכבי צפר ויזעקון]ן כחדה כל מלאכי אלהא

RtgJob בזמן דמשבחין כחדא כוכבי צפרא ומיבבין כל כתי מלאכיא:

P-Job ܒܝܬܐ ܐܡܨܬܐ ܬܡܚܬܐ ܥܦܪܐ. ܡܠܬܐ ܕܬܐ ܡܠܬܐ ܒܬܐ ܡܠܬܐ ܒܬܐ.

In the singing together of stars of morning, And all sons of God shout for joy, YLT
when the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy? RSV

Although the Aramaic versions' treatment of the final phrase in MT Job 38:7 (בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים 'sons of God') would seem to disclose a shared discomfort with the concept of the Deity having sons rather than angels, the respective translators seem to adjust the source text in differing ways in translation.⁶⁵² The fact that the Qumran translator includes כחדה 'together, in unison' under the influence of the first stich, v.7a,⁶⁵³ raises the question of whether the Syriac translator's transposition in the second stich might

⁶⁵² In order to introduce the idea of angelic beings, the Qumran translator substitutes מלאכי 'angels' for MT 'sons' but allows the divine name to remain unchanged (אלהא). For the Syriac translator the preferred course of action is the preservation of 'sons' but the substitution of ܡܠܬܐ 'angels' for MT 'God'. Finally RtgJob makes two substitutions, providing כתי מלאכיא 'bands of angels' as an equivalent to the MT. See the Aramaic versions of Job 35:10 as well in this connection. P.S. Alexander, 'The Targumim and Early Exegesis of "Sons of God" in Genesis 6' *JJS* 23 (1972) 60-71 suggests that R. Simeon b. Yo-hai's condemnation of reading בני אלהים in Genesis 6 (and subsequent preference for terms such as בני דייניא or בני רברביא) is a reaction against an earlier angelological interpretation (מלאכיא) found in TgNeofiti (mg).

⁶⁵³ M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 147; F. Martinez et al., *Qumran Cave 11*, 151.

also be attributed to the influence of the first half of the verse. A cursory examination reveals that such is not the case here. In the preceding examples of intra-verse influence we saw the tendency of the Syriac translator to harmonise the word order of the second stich with that of the first. In many of these cases, the Syriac translator—under the influence of the first stich—transformed the verb-final word order in the Hebrew into verb-initial word order in the Syriac rendering. Here at 38:7, we see that the Hebrew text presents basically parallel word order: (*[conj]V – [Adv] – S / [conj]V – S*) and in light of this harmony it is surprising to note that the Syriac translator has taken it upon himself to implement an inversion in the translation. Unlike the equivalents of MT וְיִרְעוּ (וייזעק / וימייבין) provided by the Qumran and targum translations, the Syriac translator's representation of this Hebrew lexeme is located at the end of the clause (ܡܠܬܐ ܕܬܬܝܠܝܢ ܕܝܠܕܝܢ) thereby displacing the noun phrase to the initial position. As there are no discernible clues as to the source of this transposition here in P-Job there seems little alternative to the attribution of this modification to the stylistic preference of the translator. It is worth noting that the post-positioning of the verbal element here corresponds to Muraoka's suggestions that such modifications in 11Q10 may be the result of sumero-akkadian influence in Eastern Aramaic dialects.⁶⁵⁴ While this may be mentioned as a tentative hypothesis, a meaningful assessment must be postponed until the analysis of all the relevant passages in P-Job is completed.⁶⁵⁵

⁶⁵⁴ T. Muraoka, 'The Aramaic of the Old Targum', 439.

⁶⁵⁵ With regard to the English translations here, the fact that Young's literal translation implements a transposition (like RSV) attests to the virtually obligatory nature of this English word order constraint. A reproduction of the Hebrew word order V – S* (shout for joy all sons of God) would probably lead most English readers to understand an imperative (shout for joy, all [you] sons of God) rather than an indicative.

34:13 מִי־פָקֵד עָלָיו אֶרֶצָה וּמִי שָׁם תָּבֵל כָּלָהּ:

11Q10 [...] וְאֵאָרְעָא עֲבַד 8 xxiv, וְקִשְׁטַת תְּבִלָּהּ ...]

RtgJob מִן פִּקִּיד עֲלוּהִי לְמַעַבְד אֶרְעָא וּמִן שׁוּי תְּבִל כּוֹלָהּ:

P-Job מַחַם פַּחַד לְאַחֲרָא. מַחַם חַבֵּי לְחֵלֶם אֲחֵב.

Who gave him charge over the earth and who laid on him the whole world? RSV

We have already discussed the Qumran version's omission of the interrogative pronoun (מִי) in a previous chapter, but here our interest is directed toward the end of the respective translations of Job 34:13. The Hebrew text, like the example cited above, also contains the quantifier כל, but here this lexeme lies at the heart of the Syriac translations' divergence from the word order of its source. If the Qumran translation has in fact preserved a rendering of MT כָּלָהּ, this equivalent will, of necessity, have appeared after תְּבִלָּהּ, the beginning of which is still visible on the manuscript. Similarly the word order adopted in the targum translation (תְּבִל כּוֹלָהּ) mirrors the Hebrew, with the quantifier following, rather than preceding, the noun it qualifies. But when we turn to the Syriac rendering we see that these two elements are inverted (אֲחֵב לְחֵלֶם) by the translator.⁶⁵⁶

The answer to the question of why this transposition has taken place here is to be found in Syriac syntax. In his examination of the Syriac of the Peshitta Pentateuch, I. Avinery has concluded that אֲ always precedes the nucleus unless certain criteria are met.⁶⁵⁷ Because none of these conditions are fulfilled in the present case, it seems clear that this transposition has taken place as a result of the linguistic constraints within which the Syriac translator rendered his Hebrew source.⁶⁵⁸

⁶⁵⁶ As a result of the transposition, the suffix of the quantifier, which in Hebrew follows the noun (resumptive), becomes a Syriac anticipatory suffix.

⁶⁵⁷ I. Avinery, 'The Position of the Declined KL in Syriac', 333. With very few exceptions, the quantifier may follow the nucleus only when: a) the nucleus is a genitive construction in which member *b* is also a genitive construction or a relative clause. b) the nucleus is composed of a substantive and the demonstrative pronoun c) the nucleus is the demonstrative pronoun.

⁶⁵⁸ See also 17:7, 34:19 and 38:18 for other cases in which the Syriac translator transposes a rendering of

וַיִּשְׁכַּחְוּ שְׁלֹשֶׁת הָאֲנָשִׁים הָאֵלֶּה מֵעֲנֹת אֶת-אִיּוֹב כִּי הוּא צַדִּיק בְּעֵינָיו 32:1

xx, 3 11Q10 אלין מלהת]בה [...] xx, 4 הוא איוב ז [...]

RtgJob ופסקו תלתא גבריא האלין מלאתבא ית איוב משול

דהוא זכאי בעינוהי:

P-Job מאלה שלם אללא חתה דחבי מהם לחסבהלם לא-ב-

חלל דמה מהם ודמ חסבהלם ✠

And these three men cease from answering Job, for he{is}righteous in his own eyes, YLT

So these three men ceased to answer Job, because he was righteous in his own eyes. RSV

Although the Qumran rendering of Job 32:1 is only partially preserved there is no particular reason for supposing that the translator has not followed the Hebrew in terms of its word order.⁶⁵⁹ Judging from the text as it is preserved, the demonstrative pronoun provided by the translator (אלין) as an equivalent for האלה takes its rightful place before the Qumran text's representation of מענות.⁶⁶⁰ This is clearly indicated by the fact that the targum translator provides a rendering (מלאתבא) of this Hebrew lexeme which differs from the Qumran translation (מלהת]בה) only in terms of dialectal variation.⁶⁶¹ When we examine the Syriac translator's version of this verse we see, however, that the demonstrative pronoun does not appear where we might expect it on the basis of the Hebrew, but instead at the beginning of the noun phrase which it specifies (סלם אללא חתה 'these three men'). Once again, we need look only as far as

כל to a different position in P-Job's version of the verse.

⁶⁵⁹ T. Muraoka, 'The Aramaic of the Old Targum', 429.

⁶⁶⁰ Both E. Baumann, 'Verwendbarkeit der Peshita', (1900) 196 and G. Rignell, *The Peshitta to the Book of Job*, 260 suggest that the translator of P-Job has misunderstood Hebrew מענות 'from answering' (this is the only appearance of either שבת or the infinitive of ענה in the book of Job). Instead, these scholars suggest other readings מעות 'to pervert' [Baumann] or a form of עון 'iniquity, guilt' [Rignell] in order to produce the rendering as it stands לחסבהלם ('to condemn him'). Language difference may, however, also have played a factor (See chapter 2 [33:24]).

⁶⁶¹ For the distribution of *haphellaphel* see S.A. Kaufman, 'The Job Targum from Qumran', 324 and espe-

Avinery's study of Syriac syntax to discover that this modification should be attributed to the linguistic constraints of the target language. While in most cases, the demonstrative pronoun *follows* a qualified substantive, the appearance of a numeral in the noun phrase alters the default word order.⁶⁶² In fact when the Syriac translator(s) of P-Deut. 19:9 (ed. van Vliet) and P-Exod (ed. M. Koster) 21:11 encounter(s) הַשֵּׁלֶשׁ הָאֵלֶּה and וְשֵׁשׁ-אֲלֵה respectively, the inversion found here in Job is also apparent in the Syriac translations of these verses. Likewise, as Avinery has noted, Ex 4:9 and Deut. 3:21 also display the exact same transformation of word order as has been noted here.⁶⁶³ Again it seems that the above modification is a linguistic-stylistic adjustment which was virtually obligatory for the translator to produce what he perceived to be an intelligible Syriac rendering of the Hebrew. Such is apparently also the case in English where even a very literal translation (YLT) is required to diverge from the word order to avoid creating a translation ('Three men these stopped answering...') which would be rejected by even the most accommodating of English readers.

Continuing on through chapter 32, we now arrive at two examples which are drawn from P-Job's translation of consecutive verses (vv. 15,16).

32:15 תָּתוּ לֹא-עָנוּ עוֹד הֶעֱתִיקוּ מֵהֶם מַלְאִים:

11Q10 והחשיו ונטרת מנהון [...]

RtgJob אתברו ולא אתיבו תוב אסתלקו מנהון מליא:

P-Job ܕܠܐ ܥܢܘ ܥܘܕ ܗܥܬܝܩܘ ܡܗܝܡ ܡܠܝܐ ܕܗܝܬܝܬܐ ܕܡܢܗܘܢ

They are discomfited, they answer no more; they have not a word to say. RSV

cially T. Muraoka, 'The Aramaic of the Old Targum', 434.

⁶⁶² I. Avinery, 'The Position of the Demonstrative Pronoun in Syriac', 125.

⁶⁶³ I. Avinery, 'The Position of the Demonstrative Pronoun in Syriac', 127. In both P-Exodus 4:9 and P-Deut. 3:21 the transformation is the same: (MT: Numeral-Substantive-Demonstrative > Syriac: Demonstrative-Numeral-Substantive). An exception noted by Avinery at Josh. 10:15 (ed. Erbes) would seem to conform to the otherwise dominant word order.

Although it is by no means certain because the end of the preceding line is not preserved, most commentators have assumed that 11Q10 וְהַחֲשִׁי 'they were silent' corresponds to Heb. לֹא-עָנוּ עוֹד 'they did not answer again'.⁶⁶⁴ As might by now be expected, the translator of P-Job makes explicit the object of לֹא-עָנוּ 'they did not answer' by providing a 3rd masc. sg. suffix בָּאִמָּם 'they (did not) answer him'.⁶⁶⁵ Not only does the targum differ from the Syriac version in supplying a different verbal root in its rendering (תֹּב), it also parts company with P-Job by sticking faithfully to the word order preserved in the Hebrew. The Syriac translation on the other hand, inverts the order of the verbal and adverbial elements in its rendering, providing לֹא בָּאִמָּם (MT (לֹא-עָנוּ עוֹד)). Before coming to any conclusions regarding this transposition here in verse 15, we first turn to the verse which immediately follows it.

32:16 וְהוֹחַלְתִּי כִּי-לֹא יִדְבְּרוּ כִּי עָמְדוּ לֹא-עָנוּ עוֹד:

11Q10 קָמוּ וְלֹא יִמְלִלֹן עוֹד [...]

RtgJob וְאֹרִיכִית אַרְוֹם לֹא יִמְלִלֹן שְׁתִּקוֹן קָמוּ וְלֹא אוֹתִיבוּ תוֹב:

P-Job מַלְלָה זֹלָה מַלְלָה מַלְלָה דִּמְכָה הִלְכָה לֹא בָּאִמָּם,

And shall I wait, because they do not speak, because they stand there, and answer no more?
RSV

If וְהַחֲשִׁי 'they were silent' does in fact correspond to Heb. לֹא-עָנוּ עוֹד 'they did not answer again' then it is not entirely clear why the Qumran translator here in verse 16 provides יִמְלִלֹן for the 3rd pf. pl. form of Heb. עָנָה 'to answer'.⁶⁶⁶ In this case it is

⁶⁶⁴ *Editio princeps*, 53; M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 208; B. Jongeling, *Een Aramees boek Job*, 88. If so this is an example of 11Q10 opting for an interpretative translation much like P-Job utilised in 32:11 (interpreting הוֹחַלְתִּי 'I waited' as meaning אָמַם 'I was silent').

⁶⁶⁵ H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 145 n.43.

⁶⁶⁶ This rendering may have been influenced by the Hebrew earlier in this verse where a verbal form of דָּבַר is rendered with מַלְלָה/מַלְלָה by P-Job and RtgJob. As this portion of 11Q10's translation is however

clear that the Qumran translator, like his counterpart in the targumic tradition, follows his rendering of the verb with a translation of עָנָה. Again the Syriac translator also supplies an objective suffix in rendering לֹא-עָנֻה 'they did not answer' with ܠܗܡܐ 'they (did not) answer him' but as in the previous verse, the translator of P-Job chooses to transpose his rendering (ܠܗܡܐ) of Heb. עָנָה, to the beginning of the clause. When two such modifications are located in successive verses it is tempting to assume that this is yet another example of properly linguistic constraints making their presence felt. The temptation grows even stronger when עָנָה is the subject of the same transposition in the Syriac translation of Job 34:23.⁶⁶⁷ But because the Syriac version of Job 7:10 twice follows the MT word order in locating its translation of עָנָה following a negative verbal form, it is clear that the translator is quite free to follow the Hebrew text when it suits him. In light of this, the modifications here in 32:15 and 16 must represent an adjustment of the text which is in some sense a stylistic option for the translator.⁶⁶⁸

29:12 כִּי-אֶמְלִיט עָנִי מְשׁוּעַ וַיְתוֹם וְלֹא-עֹזֵר לוֹ:

11Q10 [א..] וְרוּ אַנְה שְׂיִי*זִבַּת לַעֲנָא מִן [...] xiv, 7 [...] ד' י' לֹא עֲדַר לַה*וּיָן

RtgJob אַרוֹם אַשְׁתִּזִּיב עֲנִיָּא דְבַעֵי וַיְתוֹם וְלֹא סַעִיד לִיָּה:

P-Job ܡܠܟܐ ܕܦܠܝܬܐ ܠܡܨܬܐ ܡܢ ܐܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܥܝܢܐ ܠܗ ܡܨܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܨܬܐ.

For I deliver the afflicted who is crying, And the fatherless who hath no helper. YLT

because I delivered the poor who cried, and the fatherless who had none to help him. RSV

not preserved, the motivation for this adjustment remains uncertain, as does the translator's preference for the imperfect over against the Hebrew perfect form.

⁶⁶⁷ This transposition is made alongside others in the Syriac translator's re-writing of the Hebrew text 34:23 כִּי לֹא עַל-אִישׁ יִשְׁעִים עָוֹד לְהִלָּךְ אֶל-אֵל בְּמִשְׁפָּט:

P-Job: ܡܠܟܐ ܕܦܠܝܬܐ ܠܡܨܬܐ ܡܢ ܐܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܥܝܢܐ ܠܗ ܡܨܬܐ.

⁶⁶⁸ H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 108 n.11 attributes this modification to language difference, but it seems to be rather a function of the stylistic preference of the translator.

While the meaning of the Hebrew (לֹא-עֲזָר לִי) is basically clear, the representation of this clause in the Aramaic versions shows a degree of variation. While the targum reproduces the MT form scrupulously, both P-Job and the Qumran text show minor discrepancies.⁶⁶⁹ Although it seems that the Qumran targum has supplied the relative pronoun (ܐܝܢܐ) it is debatable whether the Aramaic supplied has been intended as a verbal clause or a nominal one.⁶⁷⁰ Whether the understanding of the Qumran text is more similar to that of RtgJob or the Syriac version, it is clear that P-Job here shows a negated nominal clause.⁶⁷¹ In the process of formulating this rendering, the translator has apparently opted to present the suffixed preposition in a position adjacent to the negative particle (ܐܝܢܐ ܠܐܝܢܐ). We are better able to understand this word order discrepancy when we notice that a similar construction appears elsewhere in Job. At 33:9 (ܐܝܢܐ ܠܐܝܢܐ ܠܝ), the Syriac text again diverges from the word order of the source text in the same manner in an idiomatic rendering of the Hebrew (ܐܝܢܐ ܠܐܝܢܐ ܠܝ). Further clues that the transposition here is a result of linguistic-stylistic considerations are found in the Syriac versions of Job 10:22 and 15:3 where the translator adds suffixed prepositional phrases to ܐܝܢܐ. Because neither prepositional phrase is attested there in the MT, the fact that the translator supplies them in a position immediately adjacent to ܐܝܢܐ rather than allowing another form to intervene would seem to confirm the suggestion that here and

⁶⁶⁹ It is difficult to determine whether the translator of 11Q10 has provided the 3rd masc. pl. suffix on the preposition because of the occurrence of a plurality of references earlier in the verse ('the poor' and 'the orphan') or whether the translator was influenced by the Hebrew of 30:13 (where, in a virtually parallel expression, he renders Heb. לִמּוֹ with the form which occurs here) B.E. Zuckerman, *The Process of Translation*, 508 seems justified in rejecting Sokoloff's suggestion that the reading of the plural suffix necessitates the assumption that the translator rendered a plural form of MT יְתוֹמִים.

⁶⁷⁰ The editors read ܐܝܢܐ as an imitation of the Hebrew participle-as-substantive. While M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 123 prefers to understand the Qumran text as intending a verbal clause, the thorough analysis of B.E. Zuckerman, *The Process of Translation*, 506-7 follows T. Muraoka, 'Notes on the Old Targum', n.33 in seeing the Qumran text as a probable imitation of the Hebrew.

⁶⁷¹ In fact M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 123 appeals to the Syriac version as evidence that the Qumran translator has not intended a nominal clause. See B.E. Zuckerman, *The Process of Translation*, 507.

at 33:9, linguistic-stylistic constraints have required the translator to diverge from the word order of the Hebrew text in order to provide an acceptable Syriac rendering.⁶⁷²

40:28 ܝܚܪܬ ܒܪܝܬ ܥܡܟ ܬܩܚܢܝ ܠܥܒܕ ܥܘܠܡ:

11Q10 11Q10 ܠܝܩܝܡ 7 xxxv, ܩܝܡ ܥܡܟ ܘܬܕܒܪܢܐ ܠܥܒܕ ܥܠܡ

RtgJob ܐܝܦܫܪ/ܐܘܫܪ ܕܝܓܝܘܪ ܩܝܡ ܥܡܟ ܬܙܒܢܢܝܐ ܠܥܒܕ ܦܠܚ ܠܥܠܡܐ:

P-Job ܠܥܕ ܒܪܝܬ ܡܨܚܐ. ܐܡ ܠܥܕ ܐܢܬ ܠܡ ܒܪܐ ܠܠܒ.

Doth he make a covenant with thee? Dost thou take him for a servant age-during? YLT

Will he make a covenant with you to take him for your servant for ever? RSV

The targumist attempts to recreate in Aramaic the well-known Hebrew covenantal idiom *יַכְרֵת בְּרִית* 'he will cut a covenant/pact', whereas both the Qumran and Syriac translators have modified the idiom by rendering the Hebrew verb with *ܝܩܝܡ* and *ܠܥܕ* respectively (both having the meaning 'to establish, fix').⁶⁷³ Our focus here is, however, not on the verb but on the cognate accusative and preposition which follow in precisely that order both in the Hebrew text (*ܒܪܝܬ ܥܡܟ*) and in the Qumran (*ܩܝܡ ܥܡܟ*) and targum (*ܩܝܡ ܥܡܟ*) renderings of it. As may be seen above, the Syriac version presents these particular elements in an inverted order (*ܒܪܝܬ ܡܨܚܐ*). When this idiom (*ܟܪܬ ܒܪܝܬ*) includes *ܥܡ*, it is the preposition rather than *ܒܪܝܬ* which is more likely to immediately follow the verb.⁶⁷⁴ However, at Genesis 26:28 (*ܘܢܚܪܬܐ ܒܪܝܬ ܥܡܟ*) where the Syriac translator encounters the word order which is also present here in Job there is no sign of deviation (*ܠܡܨܚܐ ܡܨܚܐ ܒܪܝܬ*). Furthermore at Job 22:4 (*ܝܒܐ ܥܡܟ ܒܡܫܫܦܬ*)

⁶⁷² For the syntax of *ܠܥܕ ܒܪܝܬ* see J. Joosten, *The Syriac Language of the Peshitta*, 102-3 and G. Goldberg, 'On Syriac Sentence Structure', in M. Sokoloff (ed.), *Arameans, Aramaic, and the Aramaic Literary Tradition* (Ramat Gan: 1983) 117-131.

⁶⁷³ C. Mangan, *The Targum of Job*, 87 notes that the retention of the idiom is also attested in Tg. Onqelos and Ps-J (Gen 21:27; Deut 5:2).

⁶⁷⁴ See for instance, Deut 4:23, 5:2, 29:11; 24 1Kgs. 8:21; Neh. 9:8; 2 Chron 6:11.

and 42:11 (וַיֹּאכְלוּ עִמּוֹ לֶחֶם בְּבֵיתוֹ) the translator of P-Job shows a willingness to implement exactly the opposite transposition in his rendering of these two verses (22:4

וְהָיָה לֶחֶם לֶחֶם בְּבֵיתוֹ / 42:11) While the above analysis suggests that it is again the stylistic preference of the translator which lies behind some transpositions, the discussion also reveals that the precise motivation for his deviation from the Hebrew word order may be elusive.⁶⁷⁵

27:16 אִם-יִצְבֹּר כְּעֶפְרָךְ כֶּסֶף וְכַחמָר יָכִין מִלְבוּשׁ:

11Q10 [...] זִוְיָא כְּטִינָא יִסְגָּא

RtgJob אין יכנוש היך עפרא סימא והיך טינא יתכין/יתקן לבושין:

P-Job אַ נַחְשָׁא מַסְפָּא אֵינִי חֲפָא. אֵינִי לְנָא טַמְנָא לְחַמְרָא.

If he heap up as dust silver, And as clay prepare clothing, YLT

Though he heap up silver like dust, and pile up clothing like clay; RSV

Despite the lack of conjunction between the stichs in 11Q10's rendering of 27:16, it is clear that זִוְיָא 'coins, money' is intended as an equivalent for MT כֶּסֶף.⁶⁷⁶ While the targum opts for an alternate, but equally appropriate, rendering in סימא, the Syriac text opts to represent this Hebrew lexeme with the cognate form מַסְפָּא.. Because the Qumran text is fragmentary at this point it is impossible to determine how the translator has rendered כְּעֶפְרָךְ, but it is clear that if it was included in the Aramaic representation of the verse it must have preceded זִוְיָא in the clause. While in the case of the Syriac (אֵינִי חֲפָא) and targum (היך עפרא) texts we see that the cognate substantives

⁶⁷⁵ Other examples include P-Job's translation of 40:30 (וַיִּכְרֹם עָלָיו חֲפָרִים) and 33:28 (וַיִּשְׂכַּח מִמֶּנִּי/בְּאֵר תִּרְאָה:).

⁶⁷⁶ For the loss of conjunction see 11Q10's treatment of waw in Part Three below. See B.E. Zuckerman, *The Process of Translation*, 392 for discussion of זִוְיָא, also provided by the Qumran translator in the rendering of the following verse (27:17).

38:30 כָּאֶבֶן מַיִם יִתְחַבְּאוּ וּפְנֵי תְהוֹם יִתְלַכְּדוּ:

11Q10 כא|בן] מִין הַתְּקִרְמוּ מִנָּה וְאַנְפִי תְהוֹם*ו* [מא]

RtgJob הֵיךְ אֲבֵנָא מֵיָא קְרִישֵׁן וּמִטְמָרֵן וְאַפִּי תְהוֹמָא מִן קוֹרָא מִתְאַחְדִּין:

P-Job אֲנִי חֲרָפָא מְלֻסְסָא תְּחָא. חֲרָפָא אֲמֵחְמָא אֲעֵדָא.

As a stone waters are hidden, And the face of the deep is captured. YLT

The waters become hard like stone, and the face of the deep is frozen. RSV

Here the Hebrew poet opens the line with the vehicle of the simile (כָּאֶבֶן 'like stone') and all three Aramaic versions follow suit in providing entirely adequate equivalents (כא|בן / הֵיךְ אֲבֵנָא / אֲנִי חֲרָפָא).⁶⁷⁸ Similarly, all the translators supply the expected rendering of Hebrew מַיִם although the targum and Syriac versions supply emphatic forms instead of an absolute form as does the Qumran text.⁶⁷⁹ When the two examples drawn from chapter 27 are considered alongside the present case in 38:30, it is clear that the Syriac translator of Job has felt free to deviate from the word order in the Hebrew text when he encounters a simile in his source. But is the translator merely free (that is, constrained only by his own stylistic preference) or is he rather obliged by a definable linguistic constraint of his target language? While 27:16 and 20 display the identical transposition (MT: *V* – 'like' + vehicle – tenor P-Job: *V* – tenor – 'like' + vehicle) the Syriac translation of 38:30 (MT: 'like' + vehicle – tenor – *V*) > 'like' + vehicle + *V* + tenor) does not display the same treatment. What is common between the three adjustments is the tendency to ensure that the verbal form (*V*) is followed by the tenor, regardless of their position vis-à-vis the vehicle. While this explanation would suggest that a linguistic constraint has resulted in the transpositions in these passages, the Syriac translator's treatment of 27:18—a verse quite clearly in the vicinity of vv 16 and 20—calls this assumption into question. There the translator has no qualms about

⁶⁷⁸ P-Job renders the MT singular. Although H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 65 sees P-Job's rendering of the Hebrew singular אֶבֶן 'stone' with the Syriac plural חֲרָפָא 'stones' as resulting from language difference, it seems more likely that P-Job has harmonised the grammatical number of this noun with that of the other noun and verb in the clause.

lls this assumption into question. There the translator has no qualms about reproducing the word order of the Hebrew (בְּנֶגְהָ כְּעֵשׂ בֵּיתוֹ וּכְסֻפָּהּ עֲשֶׂה נֹצֵרִי) in his Syriac rendering of v.18 (ܒܢܐ ܠܐ ܐܬܝ ܕܡܢ ܚܝܬ ܕܡܝܡܪܐ ܕܥܝܘܒ ܕܡܝܡܪܐ ܕܥܝܘܒ) despite apparently feeling the need to modify the exact same word order where it appears both two verses before (v.16) and two verses after (v.20). Clearly, what seemed to be a hard and fast linguistic constraint on the basis of 27:16, 20 and 38:30 must be seen as merely a stylistic preference of the translator for the Syriac appears to tolerate a variety of different word orders in a simile construction.⁶⁸⁰

40:6 ܒܝܥܝܢ ܝܗܘܗܐ ܐܬܝܘܒ ܡܢ ܣܥܪܐ ܝܠܐܡܪ:

11Q10 ܥܢܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܐܝܘܒ *ܡܢ ܪܝܢ ܚܐ* ܥܥܢܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܐ

RtgJob ܘܐܬܝܒ ܝܝ/ܡܝܡܪܐ ܕܝܝ ܝܬ ܐܝܘܒ ܡܢ ܥܠܥܘܠܐ/ܕܥܥܪܐ ܘܐܡܪ:

P-Job ܡܢ ܥܠܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܥܪܐ ܝܬ ܐܝܘܒ ܡܢ ܥܠܥܘܠܐ.

And Jehovah answereth Job out of the whirlwind, and saith: — YLT

Then the LORD answered Job out of the whirlwind (____): RSV

Here in Job 40:6, various witnesses within the MSS tradition of RtgJob have preserved the addition/substitution ܕܡܝܡܪܐ prior to its rendering of the divine name ܝܝ.⁶⁸¹ As opposed to the use of this term by both 11Q10 and RtgJob in 39:25, the appearance of *memra* here is probably an example of a developmentally late usage. While it is diffi-

⁶⁷⁹ See T. Muraoka, *Classical Syriac*, § 21, 22.

⁶⁸⁰ While Young's adherence to the Hebrew creates what might kindly be described as non-standard English, the more idiomatic English translations of these verses (such as RSV) tend to parallel the Syriac in preferring the adjacent positioning of V and the tenor. Another linguistic-stylistic adjustment is apparently made by the translator at 31:30 where he deviates from the word order of the MT (ܘܠܐ ܢܬܬܝ ܠܚܬܐ ܚܬܝ) by splitting the infinitival construction with the object (ܐܠܐ ܐܬܠܡܐ ܡܢ ܠܬܠܡܐ). Where the infinitive object complement appears, the object (or subject, see P-Job 6:7) may be interposed. T. Nöldeke, *Kurzgefasste Syrische Grammatik*, § 293 shows that the object of the infinitive in these contexts may indeed be interposed between the main verb and the infinitive complement but he also shows that Syriac will equally tolerate the noun following the infinitive complement.

⁶⁸¹ See Appendix I: *Memra* in 11Q10.

cult to determine the content or extent of its theological signification when used in conjunction with the divine name, the appearance of this more developed usage of this term provides a substantive link between RtgJob and classical targumic literature.⁶⁸² While all three Aramaic translators make the necessary adjustment of the verbal form at the end of Job 40:6 (וַאֲמַר),⁶⁸³ when we turn to the Qumran rendering we see that the same verb has been provided in a final position in the Aramaic translation but also that a suffixed preposition לֵה 'to him', has been supplied following the verb. Finally, while the Syriac version joins the other Aramaic renderings in providing אַמַּר, the provision of this equivalent is made not at the end of the verse but medially instead. In the Syriac translation the direct object (אֶת־אִיּוֹב) of the initial Hebrew clause (וַיַּעַן־יְהוָה אֶת־אִיּוֹב) becomes a prepositional phrase לֵה which is then dependent on the newly relocated verb (אֲמַר לֵה). Although it is clear that the Qumran translator has added an element while the Syriac translator has opted for transposition, the alternate modes of representation should not obscure the fundamentally similar approaches to the Hebrew text. The Qumran translator has supplied a suffixed preposition לֵה 'to him' following the verb in order to clarify and reiterate the identity and of the addressee: 'God answered Job from the wi[nd] and the cloud and he said to him [וַאֲמַר לֵה]'. Whereas the Qumran translator expands his text in order to produce an idiomatically explicit rendering of the Hebrew, the Syriac translator prefers to contract the Hebrew text into a more concise Syriac form by failing to represent the addressee (אִיּוֹב) as direct object. In the Syriac, the addressee (Job) is instead represented by the prepositional phrase לֵה (11Q10: לֵה) and the verb which appears at the end of the other versions is then brought

⁶⁸² As A. Chester, *Divine Revelation*, 293-313 brings out in his lucid discussion of this term, the issue (by no means easily resolved) is not merely what the theological significance of *memra* is ('hypostasis', 'metonymy' etc.) but at what point did this theological significance emerge and what were its sources (e.g. 'word theology').

⁶⁸³ For discussion of the Aramaic versions treatment of the *waw* + prefix conjugation see Part Three below.

In 32:10, Elihu pleads with Job and ‘the friends’ for a hearing on the subject of Job’s predicament.⁶⁸⁶ Although the Hebrew verb does not of course require the reiteration of the subject, a desire for emphasis on Elihu’s inclusion in the group has led to its provision here along with the particle.⁶⁸⁷ Although the targumic tradition preserves variation in terms of the actual lexeme provided (ברם/אף), all three Aramaic versions represent both the independent pronoun and its accompanying particle.⁶⁸⁸ But whereas the Hebrew and its Qumran and targum translations display the pronoun-particle cluster at the end of their rendering of 32:10, the Syriac version locates its rendering not in a final position but rather at the beginning of the clause (ܐܢܝ ܐܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܠܝܢ) where the others show the verb. As with virtually all transpositions, there is no change of meaning discernible as a result of the dislocation and furthermore there seems to be little in the first half of the verse which might have motivated it. The appearance of a related modification below in 32:17 may serve to shed some light on this modification and it will suffice at this point to note that the word order of the new Syriac translation (*particle + pronoun – V[indir obj] – O*) differs from that of the MT (*V – O – particle + pronoun*).

⁶⁸⁶ A. Caquot, ‘Un écrit sectaire’, 16 has suggested that 11Q10’s use of a generic term מלי ‘my words’ in place of MT דעתי ‘my opinion, knowledge’ both here and in an identical clause (32:17b below) should be understood as the translator’s attempt to downgrade the discourse of Elihu from ‘knowledge’ to mere ‘words’ (in contrast to the upgrading of Job’s image). While this may be possible, it is worth noting that both here and in v. 17, the sense of the Hebrew (BDB, 395) may indeed be ‘opinion’ rather than ‘knowledge’ and if this is indeed the case, then this modification may be more innocuous than Caquot supposes. Alternatively, the translator may have been influenced by the appearance (twice) of references to ‘words’ in the following verse.

⁶⁸⁷ For discussion of pronouns accompanied by ‘particles of interest’ see B. Waltke and M. O’Connor, *Hebrew Syntax*, § 16.3.5b.

⁶⁸⁸ The Aramaic versions reflect the varied functions of the Hebrew particle אף by providing more than one equivalent: 11Q10: אף, דין; RtgJob אף, להוד, ברם; P-Job: א, אם, (omission). For examples see 32:10, 32:17, 35:14, 36:29, 37:11, 40:08.

32:17 אַעֲנֶה אֶף־אֲנִי חֲלָקִי אֶתְנֶה דְּעִי אֶף־אֲנִי:

11Q10 [וּאֲ]חֹה מִלִּי אֶף אֲנִי [...]

RtgJob אתוב/אתיב לחוד אנא חולקי אחוה מנדעי לחוד אנא:

P-Job אַבֵּר אֶף אֲנִי מִלֵּל, מֵאַשְׁמָא אֶף אֲנִי מִדַּבֵּר.

I answer, even I — my share, I shew my opinion — even I. YLT

I too will have my say; I too will tell what I know. NIV

The repetition in 32:17 of structures analogous (v.17a) and identical (v.17b) to that found earlier in verse 10 (see above) affords an opportunity to shed some light on the attitude of the translator. Here again the Qumran (אֶף אֲנִי) and targum texts (לחוד אנא) follow the Hebrew in preserving particle and pronoun at the end of the clause and verse, but the Syriac translator once again diverges from the source text by locating this cluster between verb and object (אֶף אֲנִי מִדַּבֵּר) in his rendering.

In light of the structure of the first half of the verse, it seems obvious that the modified word order in the Syriac (*V – particle + pronoun – O*) is a direct result of the influence of v.17a (אַעֲנֶה אֶף־אֲנִי חֲלָקִי) which has been duly reproduced in P-Job. But if the answer here is purely one of intra-verse influence, what are we to make of the example seven verses earlier (32:10). Not only do we see no parallel structure on hand there to influence the Syriac rendering, we also see that the exact same Hebrew text has been modified in a different way (אֶף אֲנִי מִדַּבֵּר) with the particle pronoun cluster being transposed to an initial position. The answer to the problem of such variation in close proximity is to be found through an examination of other cases in the Syriac version of the OT where this same cluster is rendered. While in Leviticus 26:24 we find the word order of the Hebrew (וְהִלַּכְתִּי אֶף־אֲנִי עִמָּכֶם בְּקָרִי) being followed by the Syriac version, only four verses later (26:28) the translator of P-Leviticus diverges from the

brew in reproducing only the suffixed preposition (לך) both the translators of P-Job and 11Q10 have provided the existential particle אִי/אִי⁶⁹² in an attempt to make this distinctive Semitic genitive construction more explicit than it is in the Hebrew here.⁶⁹³ Where these renderings differ, however, is in the location of this particle within the respective clauses. As may be easily seen, the Qumran translator simply supplies the particle before the preposition (אִי לך) while otherwise retaining the word order of the Hebrew. The Syriac translator again diverges from the Hebrew by transposing this unit (ܐܝ ܠܚ) to the beginning of the clause in his rendering. Similarly in the latter half of the verse we see that the translator of P-Job again deviates from the word order which is displayed in the MT and followed by 11Q10 and RtgJob. Here the Syriac version inverts the order so that the verbal form (ܐܚܝܢܐ ܕܚܝܢܐ) now precedes, rather than follows, the comparative construction ܕܠܚܝܢܐ ܕܠܚܝܢܐ. 'with a voice like his/m'. In light of previous discussions involving the non/existential particle (see above 29:12) it is not entirely surprising to find that the translator has supplied ܐܝ in his quest for idiomatic fluency. The provision of this particle does not, however, explain the word order deviations which appear not only in the first half of the verse, but also in the latter portion. In fact one of the keys to understanding the transposition seems to lie in recognising the influence of the preceding verse (40:8) on the Syriac rendering of this one. There the Hebrew text (הָאֵץ תִּפְּרַח מִשְׁפָּטִי תִרְשִׁיעֵנִי לְמַעַן תִּצְדֶּק) prompts the translator to offer (ܐܝ ܕܠܚܝܢܐ ܕܠܚܝܢܐ ܕܠܚܝܢܐ) as an adequate Syriac rendering.⁶⁹⁴

⁶⁹² See J. Fitzmyer 'The First Century Targum', 171.

⁶⁹³ While M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 158 provides evidence (Gap 22:22, TgOnqelos Gen 43:6, 32:4) that Aramaic as a language requires the explicit representation of the particle as opposed to the Hebrew, we cannot overlook the obvious fact that at this juncture RtgJob does not add this particle. This is a clear example of the difficulty faced when trying to derive idiomatic Aramaic 'usage' from Targumic Aramaic materials.

⁶⁹⁴ It also worth noting in this connection that the Syriac translator seems to have transposed his rendering of אִי (v.9) to verse 8 (ܐܝ). This adjustment serves to transform verse 8 into the protasis of a conditional construction whose apodosis takes the form of a rhetorical question (verse 9). Another transposition of אִי is evident at 40:27 where Hebrew (הִירֵבָה אֵלַי תַּחֲנוּגִים אִם-יִדְבָּר אֵלַי רַכּוֹתִי) is rendered

Having begun both halves of 40:8 with 2nd person participial verbs in translating the Hebrew, we are not entirely surprised to observe that the translator seems set on continuing the same line of questioning with a rendering of 40:9 which parallels the word order of the preceding verse. In the event, this clearly requires a transposition of both ܐܢ ܕܡܪ and ܕܡܪ ܕܢܝܢ to initial positions within the respective verses and indeed this exact same modification has already been seen in the Syriac version of Job 38:32 where the 2nd person verbal element is likewise transposed (MT: וְעֵשׂ עַל-בְּנֵיהֶּ תִּנָּחֵם/ܐܢ ܕܡܪ ܕܢܝܢ ܕܡܪ ܕܢܝܢ). While it may be possible that the transpositions present in this verse are entirely due to the factors discussed above, the presence of a simile in both stichs here in 40:9 at least raises the possibility that linguistic-stylistic preferences may also be at work. In fact, as we have seen above, the Syriac translator of 27:16 and 20 prefers to leave the comparative elements (ܐܡܪ + vehicle) to the final position in his rendering despite the fact that the Hebrew word order is quite different. So too here, the translator's adjustments result in ܐܡܪ ܕܡܪ 'like God' and ܡܡܢܐ 'like H/him' being left in the final position in their respective stichs.

Summary of Transposition in P-Job

We have seen from the above examples that the Syriac translator apparently feels free to adjust the word order of the Hebrew in order to create intelligible Syriac out of a previously modified text.⁶⁹⁵ The Syriac version of Job also presents cases where the perceived difficulty or ambiguity of the Hebrew has forced the translator to deploy transposition alongside other adjustments in an attempt to produce a fluent Syriac translation.⁶⁹⁶

The above discussion also shows that the Syriac translator's deviations from the word order of the Hebrew may stem not only from preceding modifications or problem-

by Syriac ܐܢ ܕܡܪ ܕܢܝܢ ܕܡܪ ܕܢܝܢ.

⁶⁹⁵ 34:12, 38:29.

atic source texts, but also from the influence of Hebrew texts in the vicinity which share some features with a given text, but present a different word order. While occasionally this tendency toward harmonisation may involve a more distantly related text or texts (40:13), the majority of examples suggest that the pressure to harmonise is most keenly felt at close range, that is within the verse itself, where the Syriac translator will modify the word order of one clause in light of the syntax displayed in another.⁶⁹⁷ The fact that in some, but not all, cases we see a similar tendency toward harmonisation of word order in some traditions of English translation (RSV, NIV) suggests that the desire for syntactic balance between stichs often transcends linguistic boundaries and should in these cases be properly ascribed to the stylistic preferences of a biblical translator.⁶⁹⁸

In addition to the above examples of word order harmonisation, the Syriac version provides numerous cases of transposition whose origins are not to be discerned in a neighbouring stich but simply in the process by which the Hebrew text is rendered and then reconstituted according to the linguistic and stylistic canons of the Syriac dialect used by the translator. While it seems most appropriate to locate some of these adjustments toward the linguistic end of the linguistic-stylistic continuum,⁶⁹⁹ other modifications are made by the translator only inconsistently (despite similarity of content and close proximity) and should probably be considered as optional for the Syriac translator.⁷⁰⁰ Such linguistic-stylistic constraints are particularly evident in the Syriac translator's treatment of comparative constructions⁷⁰¹ as well as clauses involving the expression $\Delta \text{ܕܐܝܬܐ} / \text{ܕܐܝܬܐ} \Delta$.⁷⁰²

⁶⁹⁶ 37:12, 39:10.

⁶⁹⁷ 38:32, 19:13, 38:6, 36:15, 40:10, 40:26, 38:28, 39:5, 6, 7, 9.

⁶⁹⁸ 19:13, 36:15, 40:10, 26, 39:5, 6, 7.

⁶⁹⁹ 29:12, 34:13, 32:1, 40:6.

⁷⁰⁰ 32:15, 16; 40:28.

⁷⁰¹ 27:16, 20 and 38:30.

⁷⁰² 29:12, 40:9.

The final few examples illustrated the complex interaction of factors which may need to be considered in the assessment of the Syriac translator's rendering.⁷⁰³ While some examples discussed appear to be more straight forward in their analysis, these others caution us against the dangers of rigid classification and artificial atomisation. What is crystal clear in any case, is that intra-verse influence and/or linguistic-stylistic factors, although at times not easily distinguished, are primary contributing causes of transposition for the Syriac translator of Job .

⁷⁰³ 32:10, 17; 40:9.

CHAPTER 8

RTGJOB

Having looked at the phenomenon of transposition in the Syriac and Qumran Aramaic versions of Job, we now turn our attention to the Rabbinic targum. Although R. Weiss does not seem to have provided a systematic treatment of the topic of transposition in his work on the targum, he does supply some examples of transposition in the text.⁷⁰⁴ These will be discussed below in addition to any examples which may have escaped his attention. While Weiss was free to draw upon the entire text of the targum in his work, we are necessarily restricted to those portions of RtgJob for which parallel passages exist in P-Job and in the lowest common denominator of our study, the fragmentary Qumran text.

37:15 [...] דע ב?שון...

37:15 הַתִּדְע בְּשׁוֹם-אֱלֹהִים עֲלֵיהֶם וְהוֹפִיעַ אֶת אֲוֶר עֲנָנָו:

11Q10 [הת]נִדַּע מֵא שׁוּיָא אֱלֹהָא עֲלֵיהֶם*ו* [ן] [והו]פִּעַ פִּעַ xxix,6 נְהוֹר עֲנַנָּה

(a) RtgJob הִידַעְתָּא כַּד יִשׁוּי אֱלֹהָא גְזִירְתָּא עֲלִוּיָהוֹן וְאֹפַע עֲנַנְיָה מְטִרְיָה:
(b) הִתִּידַע כַּד שׁוּי אֱלֹה עֲלִוּיָהוֹן וְהוֹפַע נְהוֹר עֲנַנְיָה:

P-Job מֵא יָהֵב אֱלֹה מְדַבֵּר דְּשִׁמְרָא אֱלֹהָא בְּלִמְסָה. הָבֵלָא נְמַדָּא דְּבִתְנַמְסָה.

Dost thou know when God doth place them, And caused to shine the light of His cloud? YLT

Do you know how God lays his command upon them, and causes the lightning of his cloud to shine? RSV

⁷⁰⁴ R. Weiss, התרגום הארמי לספר איוב, 221.

Although the Qumran text's rendering (הוֹפִיעַ [הוֹפִיעַ]) of MT וְהוֹפִיעַ is quite uncertain, the remainder of the Aramaic translation of 37:15b (נְהוֹר עֲנִיָּה) follows the Hebrew text.⁷⁰⁵ The translator of the Syriac version offers an alternative verbal equivalent (ܐܢܝܐ) and makes use of the analytic genitive common to his idiom.⁷⁰⁶ While he also supplies a plural noun (ܠܚܝܬܐ 'his clouds') in place of the Hebrew singular, the translator responsible for P-Job's rendering dutifully follows the word order attested in the Hebrew source text (*V – DO [N1 gen. N2]*).⁷⁰⁷ So too the targum tradition preserved in RtgJob b) where the MT is followed with scrupulous precision.⁷⁰⁸ The Aramaic translation supplied by the majority of the RtgJob text traditions [a)], however, presents a text which is quite different from the shorter version supplied in b).⁷⁰⁹ Particularly interesting for our purposes here is the fact that RtgJob a) displays a word order which differs from the one found in the MT—providing its equivalent of עֲנִיָּה immediately following the verb (אֹפֶעַ עֲנִיָּה) rather than as the last word of the verse as in the Hebrew. It is apparently this last word (אֹר 'light'), or rather the targumist's rendering of it (מַטְרִיָּה 'his rain') which holds the key to understanding this instance of transposition. While this unexpected rendering of the common Hebrew word for light is paralleled in Rabbinic

⁷⁰⁵ F. Martinez *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 11*, 147.

⁷⁰⁶ T. Muraoka, *Classical Syriac*, § 73.

⁷⁰⁷ For fuller discussion of the Syriac translator's modification of the verse as a whole see G. Rignell, *The Peshitta to the Book of Job*, 314.

⁷⁰⁸ The translation tradition of 37:15 b) is preserved by א ה ז, all of whom are members of the Sephardic family of MSS labelled Group 2 in Stec's tentative stemma. D.M. Stec, *The Text of the Targum of Job*, 75 notes that Group 2 texts tend to prefer the absolute form of the divine name אלה over the emphatic form אלהא.

⁷⁰⁹ While the substitutions provided by 11Q10 (מַא 'what') and P-Job (מַמַּח 'that which') substitute for an apparently 'temporal' ב- (בְּשׁוּם-אֱלֹהִים) '(do you know) when God places/about God's placing...', S.R. Driver and G.B. Gray, *The Book of Job* (I), 321 eliminate the unexpected preposition and provide the object ['his works'] which seems to be missing from the Hebrew. RtgJob (a) is able to preserve a proximate translation of the MT by supplying the direct object explicitly (גְּזִירָתָא 'command') (As Mangan, *The Targum of Job*, 81 n.10 notes LXX also provides an object here ἔργα αὐτοῦ 'his works' but unlike RtgJob, the remainder of the LXX version of this verse corresponds only very loosely with the MT.

sources,⁷¹⁰ it is found more immediately, four verses earlier at 37:11b.⁷¹¹ There, the Hebrew text has also given rise to two translation traditions in RtgJob, but in both cases the latter portion of the source text (יִפִּיץ עָנָן אֹרֶן) has prompted the targumists to render (ורוח י/מבדר ענא/ן מטריה) ‘and the wind scatters the cloud of his rain.’ In light of the proximity and the striking similarity between the targumic renderings of 37:11b (ענא/ן מטריה) and 37:15b (ענניה מטריה) in terms of both semantic divergence (‘rain’ in place of Hebrew ‘light’) and word order, it seems most likely that this instance of transposition in 37:15b should be attributed to a harmonisation on the part of the translator or the transmitter of his *Vorlage*.⁷¹² This harmonisation has the added benefit of explaining the addition of the 3 masc. sg. suffix (מטריה) here in 37:15—ענניה מטריה having resulted from אֹרֶן עָנָן (37:11) and אֹרֶן עָנָן (37:15). Although not decisive grounds for preferring translator intervention over an alternate *Vorlage*, it is interesting to note that this transposition in RtgJob is found not in the ‘literal’ translation tradition of RtgJob (b) but instead within a translation which, as we noted above, shows a greater tolerance for other adjustments in the rewriting of the Hebrew into an Aramaic version.⁷¹³

⁷¹⁰ See C. Mangan, *The Targum of Job*, 81 n. 17. Elihu’s mention of ‘light’ is understood as signifying ‘rain’ according to one part of the Rabbinic tradition (Gen. Rabba 26.7). See R. Weiss, *התרגום הארמי לספר איוב*, 276–77 for a more extensive discussion of the Rabbinic parallels.

⁷¹¹ See also RtgJob 37:21.

⁷¹² R. Weiss, *התרגום הארמי לספר איוב*, 221 attributes the modification to the translator rather than the *Vorlage* from which he worked.

⁷¹³ Another example of transposition cited by R. Weiss, *התרגום הארמי לספר איוב*, 221 (18:4) is unfortunately only poorly preserved in 11Q10. While this prevents comparison of RtgJob’s treatment with the other Aramaic versions at this point, it is clear that the RtgJob translator deviates from the order of the Hebrew text at 18:4b (וַיֵּצֵא יָצוֹר מִמָּקוֹמוֹ) providing the subject in the initial position in the targum (וַיֵּצֵא יָצוֹר מִמָּקוֹמוֹ) rather than supplying it after the verb as is the case in MT. As Weiss indicates, this transposition seems to be quite clearly related to Job 14:18 where the Hebrew displays a text identical in all respects to that of 18:4 apart from the order of S and V (וַיֵּצֵא יָצוֹר מִמָּקוֹמוֹ). While 14:18 (T2) supplements its rendering with references to the patriarchs (See C. Mangan, *The Targum of Job*, 45 n.13) both T2 and T1 (וַיֵּצֵא יָצוֹר מִמָּקוֹמוֹ) follow the order of the Hebrew in their renderings and apart from the use of the participle (vs. prefix conjugation) are identical.

differing word orders, here no such influence presents itself and the motivation, if one is to be found, must lie elsewhere. It is worth noting that while neither P-Job nor the Qumran translation display the same word order discrepancy, the translators responsible for these translations do nevertheless make some adjustment in their rendering of the Hebrew at this point. The translator of P-Job, for his part, has transformed the Hebrew nominal clause into a verbal clause by his substitution of the 3rd masc. sg. independent pronoun הוּא in favour of a 3rd masc. sg. form of the verb 'to be' *הוּא*.⁷¹⁶ It is clear, furthermore, that both these translators (*מלך* / *מלך* / *מלך*) have supplied the *waw* conjunction between stichs where it is neither provided by the Hebrew nor supplied by the targum translator.⁷¹⁷ As we will see in Part Three, the addition of the conjunction by the Aramaic translators of the Syriac and Qumran texts is related to a linguistic-stylistic preference for marking the conjunction of stichs rather than merely leaving them apposed, but the question remains: what is the motivation for the targumist's transposition here? Although the Hebrew of Job presents examples of the independent pronoun (הוּא) being used as a reiterated subject only following the participle (e.g. 15:22, 23) Hebrew certainly allows for the use of הוּא with non-finite verbs.⁷¹⁸ Although the word order *pronoun + verb* is more common, the reverse order (*verb + pronoun*) is also attested in Hebrew.⁷¹⁹ Armed with this knowledge, and an awareness that the pronoun may also be used as the subject in verbless clauses, we see that the Hebrew text (*אֶת־כָּל־גִּבֹּהַּ יִרְאֶה הוּא מֶלֶךְ עַל־כָּל־בְּנֵי־שָׁחַר*) may provide a potential source of ambiguity for its reader/translator. Without the conjunction supplied by P-Job and 11Q10, the independent pronoun might be construed as a reiterated subject of *יִרְאֶה הוּא*, rather than the subject of the latter stich (*הוּא מֶלֶךְ*). But while the transposed

⁷¹⁶ G. Rignell, *The Peshitta to the Book of Job*, 357 suggests that this transformation is a result of the inner-Syriac corruption of an original independent pronoun. In its other occurrences, the translator of P-Job (and the SAVJ in general) renders the independent pronoun with its Aramaic cognate. (21:22, 28:23, 31:11, 32:1, 37:12).

⁷¹⁷ For further discussion of shared additions of the *waw* in the Aramaic versions see Part Three below.

⁷¹⁸ See B. Waltke and M. O'Connor, *Hebrew Syntax*, § 16.3.2 for the emphatic and non-emphatic use of independent pronouns with finite verbs in Hebrew.

⁷¹⁹ See B. Waltke and M. O'Connor, *Hebrew Syntax*, § 16.3.2.

text *מליך הוא יחמי מליך* presented by the targum might avoid the ambiguity of the pronoun's reference, it is difficult to see how the resulting ambiguity (*מליך הוא* vs. *יחמי מליך*) would be any great improvement on the existing order. It is at this point that D Golomb's work on the syntax of nominal clauses in TgNeofiti may shed some light on our targum text here in Job. Although sentences whose subject is a personal pronoun display a word order in which the pronominal subject precedes the predicate (MT: *הָיָה הַגִּבּוֹרִים* TgN: *אֵינוֹן גִּבְרִיא*)⁷²⁰ Golomb has provided a few examples where the predicate is fronted and the pronominal subject follows.⁷²¹ According to Golomb these are to be analysed as cleft sentences, despite the fact that the pronominal copy (*הוא*) expected in nominal cleft sentences (e.g., TgN 38:25: *זכאה היא תמר כלתי מיני היא מעברה* 'As for Tamar, righteous is she [lit. righteous is she Tamar]') does not appear. According to Golomb, in such cases (whether in expansive passages or following the Hebrew *Vorlage*) the targumist effects the cleft sentence simply by means of fronting the predicate (MT: *קִטְנִי מְאֹד וְלֹא אֲנִי* TgN: *הא זעיר אנה ולית*)⁷²² When we turn back to the case presented by the targumist's transposition in Job 41:26, we see that the predicate is indeed fronted (*מליך הוא על כל בני אריון*) 'king is he over all the...' and thereby set into relief or highlighted.⁷²³ In light of the above considerations, it may well be that the emphasis attainable through the use of a cleft sentence was simply too tempting for a targumist also aware of the potential grammatical ambiguity involved in following the Hebrew word order.

⁷²⁰ D. Golomb, 'Nominal Syntax in the Language of Codex Vatican Neofiti 1: sentences containing a predicate' *JNES* 42 [3] (1983) 189 gives examples of translations which follow the Hebrew *Vorlage* and those which do not.

⁷²¹ D. Golomb, 'Nominal Syntax', 189-191.

⁷²² D. Golomb, 'Nominal Syntax', 189-191.

⁷²³ It is interesting to note that while the material presented by Golomb (186) shows clear evidence of the addition of the pronoun to emphasise and exploit an existing cleft sentence in the Hebrew (P-A-S), in none of the instances where Neofiti is translating does it *rearrange* the Hebrew text to this end.

Summary of Transposition in RtgJob

It is perhaps quite obvious from the outset that our ability to usefully characterise the targum translator's use of transposition is severely limited by the lack of examples furnished by the RtgJob. It is also important to note that neither of the two word order divergences found in the targum translation are attested across the entire MS tradition—in both cases a minority of MSS do preserve the word order of the Hebrew text. This inconsistent attestation does not of course preclude the possibility that the transpositions found are the work of the original translator, but it does caution against simplistic assumptions to that effect.

Although falling outside the scope of the sample examined in our study, the word order harmonisation found by R. Weiss in 18:4 would suggest that this same adjustment explored above in 37:15 is not entirely anomalous.⁷²⁴ The clarity of the examples, however, and their likely attribution to the translator should not obscure the fact that within our sample, only one instance of word order harmonisation was detected in the targum translation. The second instance of transposition (41:26) is less easily assessed but may have arisen in some parts of the Job targum tradition as a result of the perceived syntactic ambiguity of the Hebrew text being translated. If disambiguation has been the motivation of the translator, this goal seems to have been facilitated by the transposition which has resulted in a cleft sentence.

⁷²⁴ See note to the discussion of 37:15 above.

CHAPTER 9

SHARED TRANSPOSITIONS

Having already examined the manner in which each of the respective Aramaic versions uniquely departs from the word order of the Hebrew text presented by the MT, the only task which remains is the assessment of instances where two or more of the versions appear to agree in their syntactic divergence.

A1. Transpositions shared by all three Aramaic versions

The sample failed to yield any word order divergences which were attested in all three versions.

A2. Transpositions shared by RtgJob and 11Q10

The sample similarly failed to provide any divergences of word order which were attested at the same juncture in the targum and Qumran translation.

A3. Transpositions shared by P-Job and RtgJob

The sample similarly failed to provide any divergences of word order which were attested at the same juncture in the targum and Qumran translation.

A4. Transpositions shared by P-Job and 11Q10

In light of the number of word order divergences unearthed in both of these texts, it would indeed be somewhat surprising if there was no overlap between the Qumran and Syriac versions of Job with regard to transposition. The fact that both versions present cases of word order harmonisation and transposition resulting from linguistic-stylistic constraints is at least an initial suggestion that the respective translators share some common concerns regarding word order divergence. One particular example is

provided by the treatment of the comparative constructions in the Qumran and Syriac texts. While the Qumran translation shows a transposition at 34:7 (MT: כְּמִן אֶחָד חֲטִיָּא לְעֵג פְּמִים/11Q10: ܟܡܝܢ ܚܬܝܐ ܠܥܝܓ ܦܡܝܡ) the Syriac version (ܕܠܡܫܐ ܐܚܬܐ ܟܡܝܢ) follows the order of the Hebrew. As we saw in the discussion of transposition in P-Job, the Syriac translator felt the need to transpose elements within the comparative constructions at 27:16, 20 and 38:30. Particularly interesting is 27:20 where a construction involving the same vehicle ('like water') is supplied by the Hebrew (MT כְּמִים בְּלֶהֹת) in an inverted order. While the Qumran translator here finds no impediment to reproducing the Hebrew word order (ܟܡܝܢ ܒܐܝܫ), it is instead the turn of the Syriac translator (ܕܠܡܫܐ ܐܚܬܐ ܟܡܝܢ) to diverge from the Hebrew. From the above discussion we see that the Qumran translator reproduces the 'like' *water* + *tenor* construction when it appears in this order in the Hebrew (27:20) and adjusts it by means of transposition when it does not (34:7). In the Syriac version by contrast, it is the order *tenor* + 'like' *water* which is adopted even when the reverse is found in the Hebrew (27:20) and followed where the Hebrew does present such an order (34:7). While our initial assessment of 11Q10's divergence in 34:7 suggested that the most likely cause of the divergent word order was a harmonisation with Job 15:16 (שֶׁתָּה כְּמִים עוֹלָה: 'one who drinks like water sin'), the treatment of the comparative construction by the Syriac translator complicates this assumption. Although these two sets of modifications might be best termed complementary rather than parallel, they suggest at least the possibility that the translators may be responding to their Hebrew source text in distinct but related ways according to stylistic preferences. While this is an initial suggestion that the Qumran and Syriac versions may share some common ground with regard to transposition, more solid evidence is provided by word order divergences which occur in the respective versions of one and the same Hebrew verse.

22:4 הַמִּירְאָתְךָ יִכְיֶהָ יְבוֹא עִמָּךְ בַּמִּשְׁפָּט:

11Q10] ? בְּדִינָא ? [יְעַל עִמָּךְ vi, 4 (22:3)] ?... בְּדִינָא ?

RtgJob המִּירְאָתְךָ/הַמִּירְאָתְךָ מִן יִכְסֵּנְךָ/יִכְסֵּנִי יִתִּי עִמָּךְ בְּדִינָא:

P-Job נִפְסָא הַנִּבְחָל בְּגִלָּא בְּחָא

Because of thy reverence Doth He reason {with} thee? He entereth with thee into judgment: YLT
Is it for your fear of him that he reprove you, and enters into judgment with you? RSV

As with several cases already encountered in our discussion of transposition and omission in the Qumran version, the fragmentary state of 11Q10's translation of 22:4 precludes definitive conclusions. All three Aramaic versions produce generally proximate translations of Hebrew MT יְבוֹא, with both the Qumran and Syriac versions supplying imperfect forms of עָלַל and חָלַ respectively and the targumist providing אֲתָא.⁷²⁵

While this verbal form is immediately followed in the Hebrew by the prepositional phrase עִמָּךְ, only RtgJob (יִתִּי עִמָּךְ) and 11Q10 (יְעַל עִמָּךְ) adopt this same word order. The translator of P-Job instead prefers to invert the order of the prepositional phrases in arriving at his Syriac rendering of the Hebrew בְּחָא בְּגִלָּא. As we saw in our discussion of P-Job's unique transposition at 40:28, the Syriac translator is not afraid to diverge from the word order of the Hebrew text where חָלַ/עָלַל is concerned. But what light does this shed on the fragmentary Qumran translation? Because the beginning of lines three and four of column vi are now lost it is impossible to determine whether the translator has followed the Hebrew word order by providing an equivalent (בְּדִינָא) at the beginning of line four or deviated from it by supplying a rendering before the verb.⁷²⁶ While the Qumran translator may well have reproduced the word order of the Hebrew,

⁷²⁵ All three versions recognise that Heb בוא may mean both 'to come' and 'to enter' (See B.E. Zuckerman, *The Process of Translation*, 215-216) and usually differentiate their translations accordingly. In 19:12 and 42:11 all utilise אֲתָא, while in 41:8 all three versions supply forms of עָלַל.

⁷²⁶ It is of course possible that the translator did not for whatever reason provide an equivalent for בַּמִּשְׁפָּט.

apparent dislocation in the fragmentary Qumran translation: (...) *הלא עשני בבטן עשהו ויכננו ברח*) 'Did not the one who made me *in the womb* make him and did he not fashion us in the womb[...]' is indeed suggestive. It seems obvious that this correlation is circumstantial evidence in favour of transposition rather than omission, but a further question then remains: has this transposition taken place in the *Vorlage* (4Qjob^a ?) of 11Q10 or should these divergences in both Hebrew and Aramaic texts of Job from Qumran be seen as resulting from a shared indisposition toward the word order of the MT? Certainly the presence of such an inversion in an ancient Hebrew MS of the same immediate provenance (albeit Cave 4 as opposed to Cave 11) shows that such an inversion would not constitute ungrammatical Hebrew in the eyes of the scribe responsible for 4Qjob^a. But a correlation as apparently striking as the one offered by 4Qjob^a deserves closer scrutiny. In particular our attention is drawn to the end of the verse where the Qumran text is again preserved.⁷³⁰ Whereas 11Q10 corresponds to the MT in placing the numeral in the final position, we note that the Syriac translation diverges from the word order of the MT in the second half of the verse. Furthermore, the Syriac translator's modification would seem to shed light on the modifications discussed above. Remembering that the Qumran text (and 4Qjob^a) has apparently modified the word order in v.15a (V-Pp...) under the influence of the semantically and syntactically parallel v.15b... *ויכננו ברחם* (V-Pp...), we see that the Syriac text shows a sensitivity to the same constraints by doing precisely the opposite—modifying v.15b in the light of the first half of the verse. A glance at P-Job's translation (*ܫܡܥܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܢ*) shows a word order (Pp – V) which diverges from the MT of v.15b (V – Pp) and parallels that of v.15a.⁷³¹ Although the modifications evident in the Syriac and Qumran translations are at opposite ends of the verse, this superficial difference between their

106 (1994) 307-22. This reading is also provided by M. Abegg, P. Flint, E. Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Bible*, 591 and confirmed by the present author's examination of the fragment appearing on PAM 41.786.

⁷³⁰ Here reading *וְיִכְנֵנוּ* with F. Martinez *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 11*, 122.

⁷³¹ Faced with the ambiguity of MT *אֶחָד* P-Job clearly prefers to see the numeral as qualifying *בְּרַחֲמָם*, (i.e., 'one [and the same] womb') rather than functioning as subject of the verbal clause (i.e., 'and [didn't] One [and the same God] fashion us...'). See S.R. Driver and G.B. Gray, *The Book of Job* (II), 225 for

respective treatments of the text should not be allowed to obscure the underlying commonality of approach (harmonisation). In addition we see that both the Qumran and Syriac translations have, at the beginning of their renderings (ܐܠܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ 'for'...), created a positive assertion in place of the negative rhetorical question attested in the Hebrew and preserved in the targum. This type of stylistic preference for declaratives in place of interrogatives is already well attested in the Qumran and Syriac translations and is a clear indication of linguistic-stylistic modification.⁷³² If it is theoretically possible that 11Q10 reflects a *Vorlage* similar (or indeed identical) to 4Qjob^a at this juncture, then it should also be acknowledged that it is not a sufficient explanation for the Aramaic translator's presentation of the Hebrew. In terms of translation approach (both intra-verse influence and more importantly, the transformation of the rhetorical negative question into a positive assertion) the Syriac and the Qumran Aramaic translations betray a profound similarity which makes it not at all unlikely that the transpositions have been imposed by the translators. It is safe to say that 4Qjob^a does furnish good evidence of 11Q10's transposition (as opposed to omission) here and suggests the possibility that it may be dependent on a prior inversion in the translator's *Vorlage*. Methodological rigour demands, however, that this be qualified by the observation that the connection between the two texts is not *necessary* for there is evidence that the self same intra-verse word order constraints were felt in the Syriac translation as well. In addition, the translator's possible reliance on a divergent *Vorlage* is not *sufficient* to account for the translation divergences which would be unexpected in the Hebrew but entirely anticipated in light of the particular stylistic constraints that we have seen to be operative in P-Job and the Qumran translation.⁷³³

further discussion.

⁷³² See for instance 11Q10's treatment of 21:4 and 34:33 where ܐܠܐ is used in place of interrogatives in the Hebrew. For the representation (and non-representation) of interrogatives in the Peshitta see H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 208 and A. Gelston, *The Peshitta of the Twelve Prophets* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987) 137 and M.P. Weitzman, *The Syriac version of the Old Testament*, 26.

⁷³³ In English translations of this verse (e.g. RSV) idiomatic phrasing clearly requires that the negative interrogative be followed immediately by the verb rather than the prepositional phrase. As we have seen in previous chapters, this is not the first instance of parallel linguistic-stylistic constraints in English and

22:7 לֹא-מַיִם עֲיָף תִּשְׁקָהּ וּמֵרֵעַב תִּמְנַע-לָהֶם:

11Q10 [ל...] צָהָא לֹא vi, 7 ...] [ל...] חֶם

RtgJob לֹא מֵיָא לְמַשְׁלָהִי תִשְׁקִי וּמִן כַּפִּין תִּמְנַע לַחֲמָא:

P-Job ܐܠܐ ܡܝܐ ܠܡܫܠܗܝ ܬܝܫܩܝ ܘܡܝܢ ܕܦܝܢ ܬܡܢܥ ܠܚܡܐ.

You have given no water to the weary to drink, and you have withheld bread from the hungry.
RSV

Thou causest not the weary to drink water, And from the hungry thou withholdest bread. YLT

Although the first stich of Job 22:7 presents the reader with a somewhat unorthodox word order by utilising לֹא to negate an item (מַיִם) rather than the entire clause (לֹא-תִשְׁקָהּ),⁷³⁴ the fragmentary preservation of the Qumran text does not provide evidence that לֹא and מַיִם have been disassociated in translation.⁷³⁵ Some commentators have argued that Hebrew עֲיָף can have the meaning ‘to be weak /faint from hunger or thirst’ and that 11Q10’s rendering צָהָא ‘thirsty’ is therefore a faithful and proximate rendering.⁷³⁶ On the other hand it does seem quite possible that 11Q10’s צָהָא ‘thirsty’, which finds a semantic parallel in the LXX διψῶντας⁷³⁷ has arisen from the translator’s contextualisation of the MT lexeme עֲיָף ‘weak, faint’ in light of the obvious reference to מַיִם ‘water’ in the same clause and מֵרֵעַב ‘the hungry’ in the one which follows. Whatever the precise meaning of the Qumran Aramaic equivalent, it is clear that the Hebrew lexeme which has given rise to it follows not only the negative, but also the sub-

Aramaic renderings.

⁷³⁴ For other examples of the negative being used as an item adverb see *BDB*, 518 b. See B. Waltke and M. O’Connor, *Hebrew Syntax*, § 39.3.2 for fewer examples but a rather more sophisticated analysis.

⁷³⁵ Only the extreme left edge of the column is preserved and a translation of מַיִם may indeed follow the negative on the following line. Whatever other divergences of word order are visible in the Syriac version, neither it, nor the Targum rendering give any indication that this less common use of the negative has presented any problems of comprehension.

⁷³⁶ M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 113; B.E. Zuckerman, *The Process of Translation*, 221.

⁷³⁷ As noted by E.W. Tuinstra, *Hermeneutische Aspecten*, 12; *Editio princeps*, 23; B. Jongeling, *Een Aramees boek Job*, 50.

stantive which it negates ...לֹא-מִים עִיף. Such is not the case in the Qumran version where the translation of the negative follows immediately on the heels of צָהָא. Both Syriac and targum versions also provide equivalents for עִיף supplying ܠܡܨܠܗ and ܠܡܨܠܗ respectively, but the former translation departs from the Hebrew in the order in which it represents the elements of the clause. While the Hebrew text presents עִיף before the final, verbal element (תִּשְׁקֶה) in the stich, its equivalent ܠܡܨܠܗ appears in the final position in the Syriac translation, displacing the verb.⁷³⁸ On the basis of Latin and Hebrew parallels, Zuckerman assumes that it is the Hebrew's rare use of לֹא to negate an item (see above) which has prompted the Qumran translation's divergence from the word order displayed in the MT.⁷³⁹ This may well be the case, but as we have seen, there are no grounds for assuming that the form which would have followed on the line below was in fact the verb as opposed to the substantive. The other Aramaic versions would seem to suggest that such an assumption is not warranted and it is slightly surprising that Zuckerman makes no reference to the Syriac version's own deviation from the MT. On one hand, if Zuckerman's assessment is accurate, the Qumran translator's primary concern has been the 'correction' of the unusual usage of the negative תִּשְׁקֶה לֹא צָהָא.⁷⁴⁰ On the other hand, P-Job's inverted translation (ܠܡܨܠܗ ܠܡܨܠܗ) suggests the possibility that the Qumran translator has shared the same priorities ܠܡܨܠܗ ܠܡܨܠܗ. Whether the former or the latter, it seems clear that both the Qumran and Syriac translators have responded to the perceived irregulari-

⁷³⁸ H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 109 has noted this transposition but her analysis consists only in the inclusion of this displacement amongst a large group of examples which are unified by the translator's desire 'to 'standardise' or present a more prosaic word order as against the MT.'

⁷³⁹ See B.E. Zuckerman, *The Process of Translation*, 222.

⁷⁴⁰ Although Zuckerman is quite correct that the other instances of item negation are not translated in the preserved portion of 11Q10, P-Job's rendering of MT 13:16 לֹא לְפָנַי תִּגַּף יְבוּא with Syriac ܠܡܨܠܗ ܠܡܨܠܗ ܠܡܨܠܗ ܠܡܨܠܗ and a divergent translation of another at 34:23 provide some circumstantial corroboration for his case.

thus diverged from the word order of MT in moving their translations of this verbal form toward the front of their respective Aramaic clauses. The targumist has also provided a form of this verb (למתב) in response to the perceived problem at hand but any misconceptions regarding the order of the Hebrew are prevented by the provision of an appropriate equivalent (ואותבינון) for וישׁיכם in a location which corresponds to that of the MT. At the root of the adjustments evident here in the Aramaic translations of Job 36:7 is a text which was perceived as difficult or irregular by all three translators. Whereas the targumist adds elements (and in this case repeats an element) in order to overcome this difficulty, the Qumran and Syriac translators transpose elements in such a way that their respective translations are sufficiently coherent and fluent.⁷⁴⁴

42:11... ויתנו-לו איש קשיטה אחת ואיש גזם זהב אחד ס:

11Q10... ויהבו לה גבר אמרה חדה xxxviii, 8 וגבר קדש חר ד״י דהב

RtgJob... ויהבו ליה אנש מעא ואית דאמרי מרגליתא ואיכא דאמרי

חורפא דדא ואנש קדשא דדהבא חר:

P-Job... ח.מ.כ.ח. ל.מ. ח.ב. ע.א. ע.א. נ.מ.א. ח.נ. ע. ס.צ.א. ח.מ.כ.א.

...and they gave to him each one kesitah, and each one ring of gold. YLT

...and each of them gave him a piece of money and a ring of gold. RSV

The final clauses of Job 42:11 describe Job's former acquaintances presenting their restored host with gifts. Although we have already encountered some divergences on the part of the Qumran and Syriac translators in our discussion of omission and transposition in this verse,⁷⁴⁵ the Aramaic versions of these last clauses provide no great de-

ATQ, 51; F. Martinez *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 11*, 141. (11Q10).

⁷⁴⁴ Unique among the Aramaic translators but paralleled by the English NIV ('...and exalts them forever.'). the Syriac translator inverts verb and adverb in his rendering (ܡܠܟܝܢ ܠܠܝܝܢ) of the final portion of the verse (לְנִצָּחַ וְיִגְבְּהוּ). This is again to be attributed to the syntactic irregularities evident in the Hebrew source text.

⁷⁴⁵ See chapter 2 (11Q10) and chapter 7 (P-Job).

partures from the Hebrew text apart from the treatment of קְשִׁיטָה.⁷⁴⁶ Here in 42:11, the Hebrew lexeme אִישׁ is being used distributively and the targum and Qumran versions follow suit by providing גִּבְר and אִנֶּשׁ respectively.⁷⁴⁷ The Syriac translator's rendering suggests that ܐܝܬܐ has been intended to function as a substantive while the repetition of the numeral (ܥܕܐ ܥܕܐ) in conjunction with the substantive (ܢܦܠܐ) the Syriac would seem to correspond to קְשִׁיטָה אֶחָת.⁷⁴⁸ While the other Aramaic versions follow the Hebrew in supplying their respective equivalents of אֶחָת following the noun, the Syriac text diverges from the word order of the source by ante-positioning the numeral equivalents ܥܕܐ ܥܕܐ ܢܦܠܐ.⁷⁴⁹ When we turn to the final clause of the verse we see that the Syriac translator again deviates from the word order of the Hebrew, but here his Qumran counterpart also positions the equivalent of the numeral in a position not reflected in the MT. In the latter rendering the גִּבְר is again provided, but the use of the analytic construction allows for the numeral to be interposed in the genitive construction (קִדְשׁ חֶרֶם דִּי דְהַב) 'each a/one ring of gold'.⁷⁵⁰ This alternative word order supplied by the Qumran translator is not entirely surprising, for the interposing of the numeral in such constructions constitutes good idiomatic Aramaic in Syriac dialects of the lan-

⁷⁴⁶ 11Q10: אמרה; P-Job: ܢܦܠܐ; RtgJob: ܚܘܪܦܐ; R. Weiss, *התרגום הארמי לספר איוב*, 173-4 shows links between the Aramaic versions' understanding of קְשִׁיטָה as 'lamb, sheep' and the exegesis of the Rabbis (e.g. Gen. Rabba 79.7) but with respect to RtgJob in particular, C. Mangan, *The Targum of Job*, 91 n.7, observes that the three renderings are those of the pentateuchal *targumim* to Gen. 33:19. (C. Mangan, *The Targum of Job*, 91 n.7 מעט 'piece of money' [TgNeof, FT] מרגליתא 'pearl' [Ps-J] חורפא [TgOnq]). Weiss suggests the probability that מרגליתא ('pearl') was derived from the root קשט 'to adorn' (see for example, Num. Rabba. s.2 where 'precious stone' (אבן יקרה) and this verb occur together). In the base text (ע) of D.M. Stec, *The Text of the Targum of Job*, the meta-linguistic indicators אֵית דאמרִי and איכא דאמרִי possess supralinear dots which presumably indicate that the words marked should not be read.

⁷⁴⁷ See *Gesenius-Kautsch*, § 139 b,c.

⁷⁴⁸ T. Muraoka, *Classical Syriac*, § 91 c). For distributive use of ܐܝܬܐ in Syriac see *Payne-Smith*, 59.

⁷⁴⁹ דְּהַב has been supplied in the RtgJob text cited above because although Stec's base text (ע) lacks it, the vast majority of witnesses to RtgJob preserve it in a position which corresponds to MT.

⁷⁵⁰ For the greater flexibility of the analytic genitive construction see T. Muraoka, *Classical Syriac*, § 73 f).

When we turn to the Aramaic versions of Job 30:13c we see that not only have all three translators provided a semantically proximate rendering of the Hebrew, but each has similarly provided an explicit *waw* conjunction at the beginning of the clause.⁷⁵⁴ While the versions do share these features, the respective translations nevertheless display some differentiating features. The targumist's rendering

לית דסעיד להון represents a minor accommodation of the Hebrew to Aramaic idiom—the substitution of the negative existential particle (לית) and the provision of *dath* (relative) before the participle form. As we have seen, this modification is not found in the targum text at 29:12 where a virtually identical Hebrew text (לֹא-עֲזָר לִי) yields לא סעיד ליה. Whatever the discrepancies between the targum's translations of the similar texts here and at 29:12, it is clear that in both cases, the targumist adheres to the word order presented in the Hebrew source text. The *copula* supplied in the Syriac version (ܐܠܐ ܢܫܡܥ ܥܙܪܐ) seems likely to have been supplied in order to harmonise the temporal setting of the final clause with that of antecedent clauses.⁷⁵⁵ In addition to this adjustment, we note that the Syriac translation substitutes a depersonalised noun (ܥܙܪܐ 'help, succour') in place of the participle and more interesting for our purposes here, diverges from the word order of the MT by moving the prepositional phrase (ܠܐ) to the initial position in the clause. Just as we observed that the targum maintained the word order of the Hebrew both here and at 29:12, so too the Syriac version treats these two passages in the same manner, implementing a transposition in both locations (29:12 MT: לֹא-עֲזָר לִי/P-Job: ܐܠܐ ܥܙܪܐ ܠܐ). While the temporal harmonisation outlined above means that the Syriac translator has diverged from the Hebrew word order differently here in 30:13, the transposition which is found in the Qumran version here

⁷⁵⁴ For the *waw* conjunction see chapter 11 below.

⁷⁵⁵ Both RtgJob and P-Job show signs of temporal harmonisation in their renderings of 30:13. In translating Hebrew יַעֲלֶה with a participle מַהֲלֵךְ, the targum translator opts to harmonise its form with the implied temporal context of the following verbless clause. His Syriac counterpart instead takes his lead from the initial Hebrew perfect form (יָהַרַם) and harmonises accordingly (ܐܠܐ ܡܪܝܬܐ/ܡܪܝܬܐ).

lows the Hebrew text in presenting its equivalent suffixed preposition in the final position in the verse ...**מִמְרֹדֵי מִנְכֹן** / ...his words, among you. In the case of both the Qumran and Syriac versions, however, the recognition of the relationship between the negation particle and prepositional phrase (**אֵין מִנְכֵם**) 'there are none among you' appears to have led to deviations from the word order preserved in each. While the NRSV English translation differs from the Syriac version in its reiteration of the negative 'no one' in the latter half of its rendering, it does agree with P-Job in preserving its equivalent ('among you') in the latter portion, but not final position, of the verse (**ܡܢ ܡܢܚܝܐ ܡܢ ܡܢܚܝܐ ܡܢ ܡܢܚܝܐ** '[lit.] who gives to him, among you, an answer').⁷⁵⁷ Finally when we turn to the Qumran translation, we see that the position of the suffixed preposition differs not only from its source text but also its Aramaic sister translations. In this case it is the Authorised Version which provides the word order parallel with both English and Aramaic translations repositioning their equivalents of the prepositional phrase directly following their respective negative constructions (...**לֹא אִתִּי מִנְכֹן** / *there was none of you*).⁷⁵⁸ While the correspondence of the three Aramaic versions with three different English translations of the same text in different eras is indeed a coincidence, it should come as no particular surprise that a construction such as **אֵין מִנְכֵם** has prompted the Qumran and Syriac versions to implement transpositions. As we saw above, the translator of P-Job has already displayed in his translation of 29:12, a willingness to deviate from the word order where **ܐܢܝ** is concerned. With regard to the Qumran translation, the relocation of the prepositional phrase to a position immediately following the negative particle (**לֹא אִתִּי מִנְכֹן**) might also be expected when we remember that at 40:8, this same translator has provided the existential particle immediately adjacent to the preposi-

⁷⁵⁷ In omitting the 3rd masc. sg. suffix from **ܡܢ ܡܢܚܝܐ**, the translator of P-Job reveals that this lexeme does not render **ܐܡܪܝܢ** 'his words' but is rather part of the Syriac idiom 'to answer' and thus is equivalent to MT **עֹנֶה** 'to answer'. This leaves **ܡܢ ܡܢܚܝܐ** to be represented by **ܡܢ** 'him'. See E. Baumann, 'Verwendbarkeit der Peshita', (1900) 198.

⁷⁵⁸ The Qumran text's divergence from the MT was noted by the editors of F. Martinez *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 11*, 128.

tional phrase where it is lacking in the MT (אִתִּי לך). It seems clear that while the targumic translation of Job is content to follow the word order of the Hebrew, the linguistic-stylistic preferences of both the Qumran and Syriac versions have led to a reordering of the text in order to achieve a more fluent and fluid target text rendering.

29:10 קול-נגידים נחפאוּ וּלְשׁוֹנָם לְחֶכֶם דְּבָקָה:
 11Q10 [...] קל סגנין הטמרו לחנך רב[ק לשנ(הון) ...]
 RtgJob קל ארכונין אטמרו ולישנהון למוריגיהון אדבקת:
 P-Job מלך העליון נחפאוּ וּלְשׁוֹנָם לְחֶכֶם דְּבָקָה:

The voice of leaders hath been hidden, And their tongue to the palate hath cleaved. YLT
 the voice of the nobles was hushed, and their tongue cleaved to the roof of their mouth. RSV

In semantic terms, the Aramaic versions provide a largely proximate rendering of 29:10b. All three provide the Aramaic cognate of Hebrew דְּבָקָה, and both the targum and Syriac versions likewise supply the cognate of לְשׁוֹנָם.⁷⁵⁹ The omission of the 3rd masc. pl. suffix on the Qumran translator's rendering (לחנך) of the Hebrew source lexeme לְחֶכֶם has led Zuckerman to suggest that the occurrence of this same Hebrew lexeme in the absolute form at Job 12:11 and 34:4 may be a contributing factor.⁷⁶⁰ The Syriac translation, for its part, provides a small addition (ܠܫܢܐ) perhaps in order to be more anatomically precise in its rendering of the Hebrew ܠܫܢܐ ܠܫܢܐ 'to the roof of the palate'.⁷⁶¹ If Muraoka is justified in his assumption that the Qumran translator has in fact

⁷⁵⁹ In the case of 11Q10, the equivalent form is of course lost in the lacuna, but at 40:25, the translator has no qualms about representing another suffixed form of the same lexeme (לְשׁוֹנִי) with the expected equivalent (לְשׁוֹנִי).

⁷⁶⁰ B.E. Zuckerman, *The Process of Translation*, 493 is encouraged in this suggestion by the fact that ܠܫܢܐ appears in close proximity both here (29:11a) and in 12:11 and 34:4.

⁷⁶¹ As G. Rignell, *The Peshitta to the Book of Job*, 228 rightly points out, this seems to be an example of the translator's attempt to provide a more explicit rendering that is found in the Hebrew text. Whereas the YLT preserves a single word equivalent for the Hebrew at this point (i.e. 'palate'), the English translation tradition represented by the RSV instead favours a slight modification of the Hebrew 'roof of the mouth'.

supplied an equivalent of לְשׁוֹנָם in the lacuna which now exists at the end of the line, then 11Q10 displays a word order at odds with its Hebrew source text.⁷⁶² In his study of the language of the Qumran text, T. Muraoka includes this modification (*Pp-V-[S]*) as a possible example (along with 42:10 and 41:13) of the restoration of ‘genuine Semitic’ word order (i.e., a relocation of the verb toward the beginning of the clause).⁷⁶³ As Zuckerman has noted, however, the Qumran translator is not alone in deviating from the Hebrew text. Instead of supplying the equivalent of Hebrew לְחֻמָּם in a medial position where it appears in the source text, the Syriac translator has supplied ܠܥܬܐ ܫܡܥܐ as the final component of the rendering.⁷⁶⁴ If the Qumran translator has indeed employed a transposition at this point it seems clear that he and his Syriac counterpart have not arrived at a common word order for their respective translations (11Q10: *Pp-V-S* / P-Job: *S-V-Pp*). What also seems evident is that when compared with the word order of the Hebrew (*S-Pp-V*), the common feature of the two modifications is the adjacent association of subject (S) and verb (V). While the less idiomatic, more formally literal English translation of Young does not display this modification, we are by now, not surprised to note that the constraints of English as seen in the RSV parallel this tendency. Although in and of itself, this example is far from conclusive, it does give rise to a question regarding Muraoka’s explanation of this transposition in the Qumran text. Does it seem likely that the Qumran and Syriac translations of Job would agree as they do here, not when the Qumran text is displaying word order which betrays the ‘sumero-akkadian’ in Eastern Aramaic, but rather when they are restoring the genuine Semitic word order as Muraoka would argue is happening in the Qumran text here?

⁷⁶² T. Muraoka, ‘The Aramaic of the Old Targum’, 441. B. Jongeling, ‘Contributions of the Qumran Job Targum to the Aramaic Vocabulary’, JSS 17 (1972) 196 suggests the possibility that the 3rd masc. pl. suffix may have been omitted from the reconstructed form.

⁷⁶³ T. Muraoka, ‘The Aramaic of the Old Targum’, 441.

⁷⁶⁴ B.E. Zuckerman, *The Process of Translation*, 494 notes that the Syro-Hexapla displays a word order similar to that of P-Job. The only major variation is to be found in the rendering of the initial genitive construction. (ܕܡܥܬܐ ܫܡܥܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܫܡܥܐ).

Thus far we have considered instances where the Qumran and Syriac translators of Job have diverged from one and the same Hebrew source text in rendering this original into idiomatic Aramaic. Although in these cases, both texts show signs of transposition, the exact nature of the respective deviations may differ substantially. In other words, the translators of 11Q10 and P-Job seem to display the same discomfort (linguistic, stylistic, or otherwise) with the source text yet manage to achieve satisfactory fluency in their translations by diverging from the word order of the Hebrew in *different* ways. In the examples below, however, we see that the two texts also provide some divergences which show the translators appearing not only to implement transpositions at the same location, but also with the same result.

נַפְשׁוֹ גִּזְלִים תִּלְהֹט׃ וְלֶהֱב מִפִּי יֵצֵא: 41:13

נפשה גזמריִן תגסא וזיקין 7 xxxvi, 11Q10

נפשיה גזמריִן תצלהיב ושללהוביתא מפומיה/מפמיה נפיק: RtgJob

נפשו גזמריִן תצלהיב ושללהוביתא מפומיה/מפמיה נפיק: P-Job

His breath setteth coals on fire, And a flame from his mouth goeth forth. YLT

His breath kindles coals, and a flame comes forth from his mouth. RSV

As in the preceding example from 29:10, the Aramaic translators of 41:13b have provided their respective readerships with a semantically proximate rendering. While it is not entirely clear what has motivated the translator of 11Q10 to provide זיקין ‘sparks’ in rendering Heb. לֶהֱב ‘flame, blade’,⁷⁶⁵ it does seem quite likely that both the Syriac and Qumran translators have sought to harmonise the plural number of their respective renderings (גזמריִן/זיקין) with the parallel form (גזלִים) in the preceding clause.⁷⁶⁶ The effect of this harmonisation of plural substantives leads in turn to a modification of the

⁷⁶⁵ The Qumran translator’s only previous encounter with this lexeme (39:23) was explicitly related to its denotation ‘blade, sword’. It is possible that the alternate denotation here has confused the Qumran translator.

⁷⁶⁶ G. Rignell, *The Peshitta to the Book of Job*, 352; H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 67 n. 11.

verbal forms (נִפְקֵן/יִפְקֵן) with which they must, according to the linguistic-stylistic convention followed by these translators, agree in number.⁷⁶⁷ Most interesting for the present discussion is the parallel word order displayed by the Qumran and Syriac translations. While the targumist follows the word order of MT לָהֶב מִפִּי יֵצֵא (*S-Pp-V*) both the Qumran and Syriac translators deviate from this source text in precisely the same manner, presenting the prepositional phrase at the end of their respective translations while locating the verb in the medial position following the subject (ܠܡܨܝ ܢܦܩܝܢ ܡܢ ܦܡܗ/ܠܡܨܝܢ ܢܦܩܝܢ ܡܢ ܦܡܗ). Interestingly, we encounter here the same word order presented by the preceding example of Job 29:10b (*S-Pp-V*), where we saw that the Qumran and Syriac translators both felt the need to diverge from the source text (albeit in different ways). Here, the fact that both translators present one and the same word order (*S-V-Pp*) in diverging from that of the source text would add further weight to the suggestion that it is a desire for the adjacent placement of subject and verb which has motivated the shared transposition. Like the adjustment in 29:10, the modification here in 41:13 has been presented by T. Muraoka as a counter-example to his own suggestion that the Qumran translator tends to favour an Eastern flavour of Aramaic which displays a sumero-akkadian influence on the word order.⁷⁶⁸ Again we observe, however, that it is precisely at this juncture—and comparatively few others—that the Qumran adjustment finds a parallel in the Syriac translation offered by P-Job. It is also worth noting that the English translation (RSV) which at 29:10 above provided a parallel to the transposition of the Syriac rendering, here manifests this same tendency—in this case paralleled by not merely P-Job, but 11Q10 as well.

⁷⁶⁷ In terms of the verbal tenses chosen here by the respective translators, both the Targum and Syriac translators represent the Hebrew imperfect verbal form יֵצֵא with participle forms (RtgJob: ܢܦܩܝܢ P-Job ܢܦܩܝܢ) despite the difference in number.

⁷⁶⁸ T. Muraoka, 'The Aramaic of the Old Targum', 440-1.

22:17 הָאֱמָרִים לְאֵל סוּר מִמֶּנּוּ וּמֵה־יַּפְעֵל שְׂדֵי לָמוֹ:

11Q10 אמרין לן. [...] לנא אלהא [...] vii, 3

RtgJob ודרא דטובענא דאמרי לאלהא זור מננא ומה יעבד שדי להון:

P-Job אַמְרִין לֵאלֹהִים פִּדְמָא מִן מַחֲזֵבָא לֵבְלֵי אֱלֹהִים

Those saying to God, 'Turn aside from us,' And what doth the Mighty One to them? YLT

They said to God, 'Depart from us,' and 'What can the Almighty do to us?' RSV

While the targumist preserves the 3rd pl. suffixed preposition להון, both the Qumran and Syriac translators have opted to render MT לָמוּ 'to them' with 1st c. pl. forms (לנא/לן) under the influence of מִמֶּנּוּ earlier in verse 17.⁷⁶⁹ Both of these latter translators have also rendered the MT divine name שְׂדֵי here with אלהא, while the targumist preserves the form of this Hebrew term by providing its Aramaic 'cognate'.⁷⁷⁰ It is also interesting to note that both 11Q10 (לנא אלהא [...]) and P-Job (לן אלהא) diverge from the syntax of MT (שְׂדֵי לָמוּ) by inverting the subject of the verb and the prepositional phrase which appears in the final position in Hebrew.⁷⁷¹ The lack of contextual clues for such a transposition, when considered alongside the fact that the Greek version of Job shows a similar transposition (ἡμῖν ὁ παντοκράτωρ) has led Zuckerman to conclude that this common divergence from the word order of the Hebrew should be attributed to a shared *Vorlage* at variance with the MT.⁷⁷² While this is indeed quite possible, the examination of transposition presented in this study suggests that it would be unwise to rule out the possibility that the translators of 11Q10 and P-Job have shifted the word order under the influence of linguistic-stylistic constraints. What is abundantly

⁷⁶⁹ B.E. Zuckerman, *The Process of Translation*, 238. It seems likely that the underlying Hebrew form was in fact the 3rd pl. which has been subsequently modified by the translators.

⁷⁷⁰ As noted by B.E. Zuckerman, *The Process of Translation*, 240.

⁷⁷¹ The word order divergence was noted by H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 108 n.11.

⁷⁷² B.E. Zuckerman, *The Process of Translation*, 240 argues that this word order divergence shared also by LXX, reflects a variant Hebrew tradition. See also F. Martinez *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 11*, 100.

clear is the fact that while these latter two translations have diverged for whatever reason from the word order of the MT, the targum faithfully represents both the 3rd pl. suffix and the word order presented in the Hebrew text.

42:1 וַיַּעַן אֱיֹיֵב אֶת־יְהוָה וַיֹּאמֶר:

11Q10 עֲנָא אִיּוֹב וְאָמַר קִדְמָא אֱלֹהָא

RtgJob וְאַתִּיב אִיּוֹב יְת יִי/מִימְרָא דִּיִּי וְאָמַר:

P-Job ܡܢܢ ܐܝܬܐ ܐܝܬܐ ܠܝܐܠܗܐ.

And Job answereth Jehovah and saith: — YLT

Then Job answered the LORD (): RSV

For the most part, the Aramaic versions of Job 42:1 present no great divergences from the Hebrew text of the verse and the deviations which do appear have already been examined in our discussion of the Syriac version of Job 40:6.⁷⁷³ As was the case there, here the Syriac translator diverges from the word order of the MT by positioning its equivalent (ܡܢܢ) of וַיֹּאמֶר immediately following ܐܝܬܐ rather than at the end of the verse, as in the Hebrew text. Again as in the Syriac translation of 40:6, the addressee which, in the Hebrew text, is presented as the direct object of the initial verbal phrase (וַיַּעַן אֱיֹיֵב אֶת־יְהוָה) becomes instead the object of a preposition which is related to the repositioned Syriac verb (ܡܢܢ ܠܝܐܠܗܐ).⁷⁷⁴ When we turn to the Aramaic version from Qumran we see that this same adjustment (וְאָמַר קִדְמָא אֱלֹהָא) has been implemented by the translator in preference to the word order presented by the MT. As in the Syriac version, the addressee (in this case the deity) has become the object of a preposition but unlike P-Job the preposition chosen is קִדְמָא rather than ܐܠܝܐ. E. Tuinstra suggests that the

⁷⁷³ See above *ad loc.* For 11Q10's omission of *waw* see chapter 11 below and for discussion of the targum's use of מִימְרָא דִּיִּי see Appendix I.

⁷⁷⁴ For the Aramaic versions rendering of the divine name here, see above page 184.

Qumran translator's use of קדם 'before' where Job addresses God—as opposed to the use of ל at 40:06 (where God addresses Job)—indicates that the translator was sensitive to issues of reverence toward the deity which were current in the 2nd Temple period.⁷⁷⁵ While Tuinstra seems correct in pinpointing deference or reverence as the crucial factor which distinguishes between the use of קדם and ל, his restriction of the object of deference to God seems less well founded.⁷⁷⁶ Given that the Syriac translator has deviated from the word order of the Hebrew for precisely the same linguistic-stylistic reasons both here and at 40:6 (and indeed elsewhere throughout Job⁷⁷⁷) it seems fair to ask why the Qumran translator yields to these same linguistic-stylistic constraints here but fails to transpose in 40:6. A look back at the Qumran rendering of 40:6 provides at least part of an explanation. In the Syriac translation of 40:6 (as in both versions here), the addressee is represented by the prepositional phrase ܐܠܗܐ and the verb which appears at the end of the other versions is then brought into relationship with it through transposition (ܐܠܗܐ ܐܡܪ). But we also saw that the Qumran translator, instead of transposing, supplied a suffixed preposition following the final verb (וַיֹּאמֶר) which in turn resulted in a functionally similar construction: 'God answered *Job* from the wi[nd] and the cloud and he said *to him* [וַיֹּאמֶר לֵה]). Whereas in 40:6, these two translators identify an undesirable syntactical situation and adjust it by different means, here in 42:1, this same construction is again identified but results in both translators implementing a transposition. Why the Qumran translator saw fit to accomplish the same end by different means in 40:6 and 42:11 remains to some extent inscrutable, but it seems clear from the above

⁷⁷⁵ E.W. Tuinstra, *Hermeneutische Aspecten*, 42; See M.L. Klein, 'The Preposition QDM ('before').

⁷⁷⁶ B.E. Zuckerman, *The Process of Translation*, 292 points out that קדם...אמר also appears in BA (Da. 5:17 and 6:14) as a formula for introducing speech. While in Job the only clearly defined hierarchical relationship is that of deity to humanity, the fact that in Daniel 5:17 and 6:14 socially and hierarchically inferior subjects speak קדם the king suggests that its use is not restricted to divine deference but to inferior-superior relationships more generally. See S.P. Brock, 'A Palestinian Targum Feature in Syriac', 271-272. For a discussion of the closely related expression מן קדם see D. Shepherd 'MN QDM: Deferential Treatment in 11QarJob and the Aramaic of Daniel' *VT* forthcoming 2000.

⁷⁷⁷ See discussion above at 40:6.

that this linguistic-stylistic constraint which Szpek found so firmly entrenched in the Peshitta translation of the Hebrew Bible is also attested in the tradition of Aramaic translation which produced the Qumran version.⁷⁷⁸

Summary of Shared Transpositions

Given the paucity of examples of transposition furnished by the Rabbinic targum, it is no surprise that the Aramaic versions of Job display no instances of shared word order deviation. Neither is it unexpected that the targum doesn't appear to share any common divergences with either the Syriac or Qumran version. These latter two versions, however, do present several instances where both translators have deviated from the word order of the Hebrew within the same verse. Those examples drawn from fragmentary portions of the Qumran text do not allow definitive conclusions, but the Syriac translator's clear willingness to diverge from the word order of the Hebrew suggests the strong possibility that the Qumran translator has done likewise (22:4). In particular both translators show a willingness to diverge from the word order of the Hebrew text in order to harmonise the order of elements in a given stich with that of a neighbouring parallel (31:15) and to create an idiomatically acceptable Aramaic word order when that of the Hebrew is perceived as being in some way unusual or irregular (22:7, 36:7). In still other cases, both the Qumran and Syriac translations display word orders which differ from one another but seem also to reflect departures from the MT which are only readily explicable as an attempt to create a more fluent and idiomatic Aramaic/Syriac word order.⁷⁷⁹

Although in the cases mentioned above, both Syriac and Qumran texts show signs of transposition, the precise manner of these dislocations may differ substantially. That is, the translators of 11Q10 and P-Job seem to display the same discomfort (linguistic, stylistic, or otherwise) with the source text yet manage to achieve satisfactory

⁷⁷⁸ Again, see discussion above at 40:6.

⁷⁷⁹ 42:11, 30:13, 32:12, 29:10.

fluency in their translations by diverging from the word order of the Hebrew in different ways. On other occasions, however, both translations diverge from the Hebrew at the same place and in the same manner. Whereas at Job 29:10, the Qumran and Syriac translators both felt the need to diverge from the source text word order (*S-Pp-V*) in different ways, at 41:13, this same Hebrew word order prompts both translators to diverge in the same way by producing an *S-V-Pp* word order in Aramaic. Another identical deviation from the Hebrew word order at 22:17 may or may not be related to the Qumran and Syriac versions' common dependence on a variant text tradition, but at Job 42:1 it is abundantly clear that the respective translators' divergence from the Hebrew word order is a result of the common linguistic-stylistic constraints within which both Aramaic translators worked.

While it is clear from our assessment of shared transpositions in the Aramaic versions, that the Qumran and Syriac versions of Job provide numerous instances of shared sensitivity to, and adjustment of, the Hebrew word order, it is equally obvious that the targum translator is conspicuous in his absence from the discussion. Again, as was the case with omission, it should not be inferred from the targumist's fidelity to the Hebrew word order, that the translator did not sense the same irregularities within the text. Rather, it seems to be the case that whatever irregularities were detected were almost always dealt with by other means (36:7). With respect to the question of a preferred word order amongst the Aramaic translations, it is perhaps worth noting that on three different occasions (29:10, 22:7, 41:13) both the Qumran and Syriac translators diverge from the source text word order when it displays the verb in the final position.

CHAPTER 10

TRANSPOSITION IN THE ARAMAIC VERSIONS OF JOB

Having looked at some length first at the phenomenon of transposition in each of the respective Aramaic versions of Job and then in terms of shared divergences from the Hebrew word order, we now return to the question of how these versions relate to one another in terms of word order deviation.

To begin with, we saw that the fragmentary state of the Qumran translation complicated the discussion of transposition in this text in a manner which was not paralleled in its largely intact counterparts in the Syriac and targum traditions. Nevertheless, the presence of *bona fide* instances of word order deviation made it likely if not certain that several portions of text lost in the numerous lacunae of 11Q10 were dislocated by the translator, rather than simply omitted.

The analysis of transposition in the Qumran Aramaic version suggested the possibility that certain larger portions of displaced text were transposed not by the Aramaic translator but by the antecedent activity of either a copyist or the transmitter of his Hebrew *Vorlage*.⁷⁸⁰ Likewise, the possibility of the Qumran and Syriac versions' common dependence on a variant textual tradition was suggested by their identical treatment of 22:17. While the potential role of underlying textual variation as an explanation of word order deviation should not be neglected, the example of the Qumran translator's transposition at 31:15 should be a reminder that even minor word order deviations need not necessarily be attributed to a variant *Vorlage*. In addition it might also be noted that the number of divergences which seemed most likely to be attributed to transpositions al-

⁷⁸⁰ E.g. 40:5, 37:16-18.

ready extant in the Hebrew source text was relatively small in comparison with other causes. In the case of the targum of Job, there was no evidence of the translator's deviation from the Hebrew text of the MT as a result of an alternative *Vorlage*.

The vast majority of transpositions found in the Aramaic versions of Job were seen not to be related to existing deviations in the *Vorlagen*, but rather stemmed from the respective translators' intervention. For instance, both the Qumran and Syriac versions displayed a willingness to depart from the word order of their Hebrew source text in order to fashion an intelligible and idiomatic Aramaic translation of a verse which showed signs of logically prior modification at the hands of the translator.⁷⁸¹

A Hebrew source text which was perceived by the Aramaic translators as in some ways difficult or irregular was also seen as a potential stimulus for transposition. While the Qumran and Syriac versions displayed instances where they employed this type of ameliorative transposition independently of one another,⁷⁸² these two renderings also presented examples where both translators seemed to be responding to the same irregular Hebrew text by rearranging the elements of the Hebrew in their translations.⁷⁸³ In addition, one of the two instances of transposition presented by some witnesses to the targum of Job seemed most likely to be attributed to the translator's concern for avoiding potential ambiguity (41:26). In all cases, what seems to remain constant is the translators' willingness to sacrifice the word order of the source text as a means of creating a more fluent and intelligible reconstitution of the Hebrew text in Aramaic. As we saw in connection with our discussion of omission, the simple fact that the Rabbinic targum resorts less frequently to transposition when encountering difficult or ambiguous texts should not be taken as an indicator that the targumist was necessarily less sensitive to the difficulties or irregularities of the Hebrew, but rather that transposition was not often the means by which he altered his source text.⁷⁸⁴

⁷⁸¹ (11Q10) 36:28 (P-Job) 34:12, 38:29.

⁷⁸² (11Q10) 24:25, 34:10 (P-Job) 37:12, 39:10.

⁷⁸³ 22:7, 36:7.

⁷⁸⁴ The targumist's neglect of these types of adjustments is clearly illustrated by the comparative brevity of

All three Aramaic versions provide evidence which suggests that the presence of a text in the near or more remote vicinity, which is semantically similar but presents a different word order, may lead to a divergence from the Hebrew word order. But this point of agreement requires some clarification. While the Qumran translator seems more likely to be influenced by the word order of more distant texts,⁷⁸⁵ the majority of examples found in the Syriac translation suggest that for this translator, the pressure to harmonise is most keenly felt at close range, that is within the verse itself, where the Syriac translator will modify the word order of one clause in light of the syntax displayed in the other.⁷⁸⁶ Again while both of these versions display transpositions which are unattested by the other Aramaic versions at the same location, the Syriac and Qumran translations also appear to show a common susceptibility to harmonisation of word order within the same verse.⁷⁸⁷ While the second of the two instances of transposition provided by RtgJob is also to be attributed to a tendency to harmonise different word orders when two clauses share other salient (in this case semantic) features, this tendency is clearly less pronounced in this text than in the Syriac and Qumran versions. The harmonising of word order between verses, or within a single verse, should probably be understood as a stylistic constraint which places a premium on uniformity and syntactic parallelism.

The Qumran and Syriac versions also provide numerous instances where the respective translators have diverged from the sequence of the Hebrew because of a desire to provide a word order which is more in line with the linguistic-stylistic constraints of the Aramaic dialects in use. While the Qumran version provides several unique examples of divergence from the Hebrew word order for linguistic-stylistic reasons,⁷⁸⁸ the Syriac version shows an even greater number of these type of word order adjustments. Of the modifications found in P-Job, some should likely be located toward the linguistic

chapters 4 and 8.

⁷⁸⁵ 29:11, 36:11.

⁷⁸⁶ 38:32, 19:13, 38:6, 36:15, 40:10, 40:26, 38:28, 39:5, 6, 7, 9.

⁷⁸⁷ 31:15.

⁷⁸⁸ 21:6, 34:13, 33:29, 30:16.

end of the linguistic-stylistic continuum,⁷⁸⁹ while other modifications seem to have been made by the translator only inconsistently (despite similarity of content and close proximity) and should probably be considered as optional, stylistic preferences of the Syriac translator.⁷⁹⁰ Such linguistic-stylistic constraints are particularly evident in the Syriac translator's treatment of comparative constructions,⁷⁹¹ as well as clauses involving the expression ܕܐܬܐܬܐܝܬܐ. ⁷⁹²

As well as providing instances of linguistic-stylistic transposition which are unattested in the other Aramaic versions at the same location, the Qumran and Syriac versions also diverge from the word order of the Hebrew at the same juncture.⁷⁹³ While these shared divergences from the Hebrew suggest the translators' collective discomfort with the word order of the source text, it is interesting to note that they do not necessarily choose to rearrange the elements in the same manner. For instance, we saw that at Job 29:10, the Qumran and Syriac translators both felt the need to diverge from the source text word order (*S-Pp-V*) but did so in different ways (11Q10: *Pp-V-S* / P-Job: *S-V-Pp*). However, it is interesting to note that on other occasions, this same dissatisfaction with the Hebrew word order could lead the translators to both produce the same reconstituted Aramaic word order. This is illustrated by the Qumran and Syriac versions' of Job 41:13, where the word order that was found in the Hebrew text of Job 29:10 prompted both translators to diverge in the same way by producing an *S-V-Pp* word order in their respective Aramaic renderings.⁷⁹⁴ The final piece of evidence which sug-

⁷⁸⁹ 29:12, 34:13, 32:1, 40:6.

⁷⁹⁰ 32:15,16; 40:28.

⁷⁹¹ 27:16, 20 and 38:30.

⁷⁹² 29:12, 40:9.

⁷⁹³ 42:11, 30:13, 32:12, 29:10.

⁷⁹⁴ While the clear relationship between the modifications at 29:10 and 41:13 makes their attribution to the linguistic-stylistic preference of the Qumran and Syriac translators virtually assured, an interesting methodological point is raised by this example. Initially it would seem that instances where both Syriac and Qumran translators produce the same word order in diverging from the word order of a given Hebrew text would provide the clearest evidence of common linguistic-stylistic preference. However, without the linguistic-stylistic connection displayed between 29:10 and 41:13, as we have seen, the fact that two independent translations would present the same divergent word order might be explained by a shared *Vorlage*. Ironically, less equivocal evidence is actually provided by those instances where the two translators

gests a degree of overlap in the linguistic-stylistic preferences of the Qumran and Syriac translators is found in the respective versions of Job 42:1. As we saw, it is abundantly clear that the respective translators' divergence from the Hebrew word order is a result of the common linguistic-stylistic constraints within which both Aramaic translators worked.

In light of the fact that the Qumran translation (understood by most to have originated in the West⁷⁹⁵) displays some of the same linguistic-stylistic concerns as the Syriac version of Job composed in an Eastern dialect of Aramaic, it is well worth considering what light, if any, the present study sheds on T. Muraoka's suggestion that the Qumran translator has worked in an idiom which shows signs of Eastern influence.⁷⁹⁶

While 11Q10 does indeed display some instances where the verb appears to be positioned later in the Aramaic clause than in the Hebrew clause being translated, two factors are perhaps worthy of note. Texts in the neighbouring vicinity of two of these instances (30:16, 21:25) suggest that if verb post-positioning was a linguistic-stylistic preference of the translator, it was a preference which was inconsistently attested.⁷⁹⁷ While inconsistent attestation of this tendency does not necessarily undermine Muraoka's suggestion (see below), it is interesting to note that two other examples of verbal post-positioning (20:5, 36:25) may be understood as harmonisations with other texts rather than modifications arising from purely linguistic-stylistic influences.⁷⁹⁸ Furthermore, it may be that the verbal element only *appears* to be post-positioned whereas in

display a common dissatisfaction with the word order, yet produce *different* viable Aramaic word orders for these instances are clearly not attributable to an existing transposition in a common *Vorlage*.

⁷⁹⁵ See above Introduction 'Language'. Although E.M. Cook's typically lucid discussion of Qumran Aramaic in terms of Middle Aramaic dialect continuums (E.M. Cook, 'Qumran Aramaic') raises some interesting questions, it still seems to presuppose a Palestinian locus for Qumran Aramaic (8, n. 30).

⁷⁹⁶ T. Muraoka, 'The Aramaic of the Old Targum', 440-1.

⁷⁹⁷ While 30:16 reveals a transposition, eleven verses later, at Job 30:27, the translators are confronted with a very similar Hebrew text (יָמֵי-עָנִי קִדְמָנִי 'days of affliction confront me'). In this latter text, the Qumran translation shows no such modification. In the case of 21:25, while Muraoka is correct to point out the (O)-V (vs. MT V-O) verb post-positioning, the existence of an apparently reverse modification (V-S/O) vs. (MT S-V) in such close proximity (v.24) might seem to problematize suggestions of a pervasive tendency toward a post-positioning of the verb in 11Q10.

⁷⁹⁸ See *ad loc.* in chapter 6.

fact it is the ante-positioning of another element in the text which has led to the dislocation of the verb (21:25). On the other hand there are instances where the context seems to offer no obvious explanation (34:13) for the post-positioning of the verb.⁷⁹⁹ While Muraoka admits that the ante-positioning of the verb in the Qumran version of 42:10 presents a counter-example to his case, our analysis has suggested on the contrary, that this transposition has occurred as a result of the translator's concern for grammatical harmonisation and is no obstacle to Muraoka's suggestions that the translator favoured verbal post-positioning under Eastern Aramaic influence.

While the above discussion nuances Muraoka's case for the Qumran translator's tendency toward verbal post-positioning in 11Q10, it certainly throws up no major obstacles to it. However, our study of the relationship between the Qumran version and P-Job, a version composed in an 'Eastern' dialect of Aramaic, would seem to problematise Muraoka's position somewhat. We remember that Muraoka sees the preference for verbal post-positioning as a manifestation of 'sumero-akkadian' word order which Kutscher had seen as having exerted influence through Official Aramaic and, by extension, Eastern Aramaic.⁸⁰⁰ Notwithstanding the fact that the Syriac in which P-Job was composed is undoubtedly considerably later than the Eastern Aramaic dialects which Kutscher had in mind,⁸⁰¹ we might expect the Syriac version of Job to shed some light on Muraoka's suggestion of Eastern influence in terms of word order. As it happens, however, while P-Job presents considerably more instances of transpositions which should be attributed to linguistic-stylistic concerns than does 11Q10, not one of the Qumran version's transpositions which Muraoka saw as betraying the influence of Eastern Aramaic finds a parallel in the Syriac version. When we turn from the unique transpositions to those which

⁷⁹⁹ One instance of transposition cited by T. Muraoka, 'The Aramaic of the Old Targum', 440 in 36:27 is difficult to pin down to this verse for according to him, עֲנִינִי (v.28) is to be understood as representing לְאֲדָרָה from the end of verse 27. See chapter 6 however for our discussion of 36:28. If our analysis of 36:28 is correct, the transposition has resulted from the restructuring of the relative clause.

⁸⁰⁰ T. Muraoka, 'The Aramaic of the Old Targum', 440-1.

⁸⁰¹ E.Y. Kutscher, 'Aramaic' in *Current Trends in Linguistics*, VI (Hague-Paris: 1970) 362. Kutscher is taking up the question of whether, and on what grounds, Official Aramaic may be divided into Eastern and Western types.

were shared by the Qumran and Syriac versions, we see that it is in fact Muraoka's counter-examples of verbal ante-positioning (i.e. the restoration of genuine Semitic word order as opposed to that of Eastern Aramaic) in the Qumran translation which find a parallel in the Syriac version (29:10, 41:13). It is important to note that whereas the present discussion has for its subject the phenomenon of transposition, a methodologically rigorous exploration of word order in the Qumran version would of course not be restricted to transposition (i.e. the translator's rearrangement of elements which appear in a given order in the source text) but would need to take into account the entire range of word orders displayed in translational and non-translational passages.⁸⁰² Until this task has been undertaken, however, the lack of parallels between the Qumran and Syriac versions in places where an Eastern influence has been posited would certainly deprive Muraoka's suggestion of some expected support. Furthermore, when this lack of positive support is combined with the Syriac versions' parallels in Muraoka's counter-examples, it would seem hazardous to assume that the Qumran translator's word order preference reflects any discernible Eastern influence until such time as this can be established by a broader study of the text.

Having provided a relatively detailed discussion of the Aramaic versions' use of transposition, we now seem to be in a position to speak of what light the phenomenon of word order deviation sheds on the question of the relationship between the Syriac, Qumran and targum versions of Job. When we look at the motivating factors which have led to transposition in the Aramaic versions, we see that the targum translator has only deviated from the word order of the Hebrew text for the purposes of harmonisation on the one hand, and in order to clarify what seems to have been perceived as an ambiguous text on the other. The Qumran and Syriac translators may both employ transposition for these same reasons and in fact show far more evidence of this tendency (see quantitative discussion below). It is at this point, however, that the Qumran and Syriac translations part company with the targum, for both of the former translations display a willingness

⁸⁰² While the addition of *וְעַלֵּיהֶן* before *לֹא אוֹסֵף* in the Qumran version of 40:5 (MT: *לֹא אוֹסֵף* is in the final position) is not a case of transposition, it is still relevant for a discussion of the translator's word or-

to depart from the word order of the Hebrew in order to create an intelligible translation in the light of previous modifications. While this concern for linguistic-stylistic intelligibility leads to a wide range of transpositions in the Qumran and Syriac versions, the targum translator apparently feels that divergence from the word order of the Hebrew is unwarranted. This translator's lack of deviation from the Hebrew suggests that either he deemed divergence to be linguistically and stylistically unnecessary or alternatively, that these deviations would indeed have been natural in his idiom of Aramaic, but were constrained by a translation philosophy which bound him to the order of the Hebrew text he was translating.

The clear example of the Qumran and Syriac translators shared willingness to diverge from the Hebrew word order in an attempt to provide what they perceived to be more idiomatic Aramaic (42:1) raises a further question. Given that both these translators display the same concern in their treatment of Job 40:6, why does the Qumran translator not agree with his Syriac counterpart in employing transposition there as well, instead of accomplishing the same end through an addition to the text?⁸⁰³ It is at this point that the true nature of stylistic preference becomes clear. Because idiomatic Aramaic permits a range of word orders, it should not be surprising if on one occasion, a translator follows the Hebrew word order, while on another, he chooses to rearrange these elements in translation. Recognition of this irreducible resistance to the scholar's systematic analysis informs Avinery's work on the Syriac version and it is worth reiterating here:

der preferences. See T. Muraoka, 'The Aramaic of the Old Targum', 440.

⁸⁰³ While the presence of MT: מִן סְעָרָה (11Q10: מִן רִיחָא [supralineal]) in 40:6 differentiates this formulaic sentence from the one in 42:1, the translator of P-Job clearly did not see the inclusion of an equivalent for this prepositional phrase (ܡܢ ܫܥܪܐ) as in any precluding his deviation of the word order.

Dans la syntaxe de la langue syriaque on trouve plusieurs notions syntaxiques qui peuvent être exprimées de deux ou même de trois façons. Cet 'embarras du choix' n'est pas toujours réglé par des conditions définies, surtout dans les cas où deux structures syntaxiques différentes se trouvent l'une à côté de l'autre. Ce phénomène ne peut pas être expliqué sinon par la notion... de 'variation' ou bien 'variation de voisinage'.⁸⁰⁴

The admitted inscrutability of the Syriac and Qumran translators' decision to deviate from the Hebrew word order in certain passages, but not in others, should not, however, be allowed to obscure the fact that whereas the targum translator does not employ transposition for linguistic-stylistic purposes, his counterparts in the Qumran and Syriac translation traditions display a clear willingness to diverge from the Hebrew word order as and when linguistic and stylistic constraints dictate.

In terms of quantitative assessment, the broad outlines of the relationship between the versions will by this point be clear. When the number of unique and shared instances of transposition found in the Qumran and Syriac versions are combined, the former version shows more than thirty cases while P-Job boasts more than forty.⁸⁰⁵ When we remember that the targum translation shows only two instances of transposition, neither of which are shared with the other two versions, it is not difficult to see the emergence of a clear distinction between the three versions in terms of their employment of transposition. Again, as was the case in our exploration of omission in the Aramaic version of Job, we are left with the impression that in both qualitative and quantitative terms, the Syriac and Qumran versions display a considerable affinity to one another in terms of their divergence from the word order of the Hebrew text of Job. In the case of the targum translation, however, such divergence is so rarely found that transposition can hardly be understood as a tool employed by the translator in his rendering of the Hebrew text.⁸⁰⁶

⁸⁰⁴ I. Avinery, 'Problèmes de Variation', 105.

⁸⁰⁵ See Part Two above. In the case of the Qumran translation, this figure includes some instances of transposition in fragmentary contexts. P-Job: 35; 11Q10: 21; 11Q10 and P-Job: 11.

⁸⁰⁶ A particularly clear illustration of this point is provided by 34:13 where both 11Q10 and RtgJob supply עבר in order to 'clarify' the Hebrew. While the Qumran Aramaic translator appears to re-arrange the

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order of elements in the process of incorporating עבר into his rendering, the Targum translator carefully preserves the order of the Hebrew as he integrates an infinitival form (למעבר) of the same verb into his translation.

CHAPTER 11

THE *WAW* CONJUNCTION IN THE ARAMAIC VERSIONS OF JOB

Previous research on the present topic—the Aramaic translators' treatment of Hebrew *waw*—has been for the most part limited to independent treatments of the respective Aramaic versions.⁸⁰⁷ If noted at all in commentaries or studies of these versions, the omission, addition or substitution of the *waw* is primarily cited on a case by case basis often without explanation or further discussion.⁸⁰⁸ E. Tuinstra was the first to look at the phenomenon in the Qumran targum, providing select examples of the translator's addition, omission and substitution of *waw* in an early dissertation on the text.⁸⁰⁹ It is, however, obvious that it was never Tuinstra's goal to provide a comprehensive and systematic account of the translator's treatment of the *waw* but rather to provide several representative examples for each category.

Heidi Szpek in her work on the Peshitta of Job introduced a degree of sophistication and systematisation into her analysis of the Syriac translator's treatment of

⁸⁰⁷ A preliminary study of this same subject on a more restricted textual sample (Columns I-IX; XX-XXXVIII) is to be found in D. Shepherd 'Will the Real Targum Please Stand Up? Translation and Coordination in the Aramaic versions of Job' *JJS* 51 [1] (2000) 88-116. While the analysis of the complete sample included here has provided several additional examples and affords a greater nuancing of the relationships between the respective Aramaic versions, the basic findings of the preliminary study remain substantially unaffected.

⁸⁰⁸ E.g. G. Rignell, *The Peshitta to the Book of Job*, 279, 300; S.A. Kaufman, 'The Job Targum from Qumran', 318.

⁸⁰⁹ E.W. Tuinstra, *Hermeneutische Aspecten*, 49 includes, in a list of various divergences from MT, a number of instances where 11Q10 adds (29:24, 29:25, 30:13, 32:16, 34:15, 36:15, 36:25, 39:8, 39:26, 41:16) and omits (19:15, 21:25, 24:12, 25:1, 26:14, 27:12, 27:16, 27:18, 29:10, 29:11, 34:29, 36:7) the *waw*. He also includes examples of the translator's substitution of his own Aramaic expression in place of the Hebrew *waw* (21:4, 25:3, 32:2, 36:26) as well as locations where he has apparently replaced an MT expression with a *waw*: (21:7, 27:11, 36:30). S.A. Kaufman, 'The Job Targum from Qumran', 318 also provides a small list of additions (II,4; IV,3,4; V,5; VIII, 2; X,5; XI, 2; XIV, 2) and omissions (e.g. XIV,

the *waw*. While Szpek too made use of the same general categories of addition, omission, and substitution she went beyond Tuinstra to consider the motivation for the various modifications⁸¹⁰—that is, in a given case, why does the Syriac translator of P-Job diverge from the Masoretic text in his use of the *waw*? Szpek's study does indeed inform the discussion which follows, but the inclusion of two additional Aramaic versions means that although the categories of omission/minus, addition/plus, and substitution provide the structure for our study, the conclusions arrived at below will not only deepen our understanding of the Syriac translation's treatment of *waw*, but also place it within the context of the other Aramaic versions.⁸¹¹ On the other hand, because the sample is limited to material which is paralleled in the Qumran translation, the present study is of course not able to take account of the entire range of data analysed by Szpek.

As an exhaustive study of even the present topic would require a far more extensive treatment than may be justified here, the discussion will be orientated by the following two questions:

1. How do the translators responsible for the Aramaic translations of the Hebrew book of Job treat and represent the *waw* conjunction in their respective renderings?
2. How do the various Aramaic versions relate to each other in terms of their treatment of this conjunction?

In attempting to come to grips with these two questions, the discussion, as in the previous chapters will be based on a series of examples drawn from the texts themselves. Both the comparatively large number of relevant passages and the fundamental similarities displayed by many of these instances make a full citation of each case both unnecessary and unjustified. Nevertheless, in order to avoid the distortions that may occur when select examples are drawn from a larger body of material these examples

9; XXIV, 9; XXVII, 9; XXIX, 5).

⁸¹⁰ H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 117.

⁸¹¹ Categories: Omission: Error, Redundancy; Addition: larger addition, implicit to explicit exegesis, intra and parallel verse influence but primarily language difference). H.M. Szpek 'On the Influence of the Targum', 144 includes 11Q10 in her study of the possible influences of the targumic tradition on P-Job, but does not appear to have extended her comparison of the treatment of the *waw* to the Qumran text (n. 20).

will be supplemented with some graphical representations of the data under consideration. Again, as in earlier sections, although the discussion proper will be limited to the ancient Aramaic versions, parallel examples may be drawn from English versions where relevant in order to illustrate a particular issue or phenomenon.

It is neither possible nor necessary here to rehearse the multitude of functions assigned by modern grammarians to the Hebrew conjunction *waw*. In addition to the well known (but only partially understood) role that *waw* plays in the Biblical Hebrew verbal system,⁸¹² *waw* serves a wide variety of both co-ordinative and non-co-ordinative syntactic functions.⁸¹³ In the examples below consideration will be given to the particular function of *waw* in both the Hebrew text and its Aramaic renderings. However, an exhaustive analysis of co-ordination in either the Hebrew book of Job or its Aramaic versions is not intended. Rather, the following discussion will again focus on the representation of the *waw* in the Aramaic translations as an index of the respective translators' attitude toward the Hebrew text.

A. Modifications unique to the respective Aramaic Versions

While we will eventually turn to the question of possible parallels in the Aramaic versions' treatment of the conjunction, it seems wise to deal first with the cases in which one of the three shows a divergence from the Hebrew text which is not attested in the other two at the same location.

⁸¹² See for instance B. Waltke and M. O'Connor, *Hebrew Syntax*, § 29.0 for a balanced evaluation of competing (and to some extent mutually enriching) theories of the Biblical Hebrew verbal system. Despite some evidence of the *waw*-contrastive in Old Aramaic (V. Sasson, 'Some observations', 111-127) the present study finds no such evidence in the dialects of Aramaic utilised by the three translators of Job.

⁸¹³ R. J. Williams, *Hebrew Syntax: An Outline* (Toronto: 1967) 72-73 gives examples of co-ordinative, disjunctive, adversative, alternative, explicative, pleonastic, accompaniment, comparative, emphatic, sarcastic, resumptive, adjunctive and distributive functions. B. Waltke and M. O'Connor, *Hebrew Syntax*, § 39.2 provide examples of disjunctive, conjunctive and exegetical *waw* under the broad classification of co-ordination by *waw*. Finally J.C.L. Gibson, 'Co-ordination by *Vav* in Biblical Hebrew' in Davies, Harvey, Watson (eds.) *Words Remembered, Texts Renewed* (1994) 272-279 follows F.I. Anderson, *The Sentence in Biblical Hebrew* (The Hague: Mouton, 1974) 66-69 in listing the co-ordinative functions of *waw* in the Hebrew sentence as: conjunctive, chiasmic, alternative, contrastive, antithetical.

A1. 11Q10

A1. a) Minus/Omission

The Aramaic translation found at Qumran lacks an equivalent for Hebrew *waw* both when it appears in the middle of a Hebrew verse and when it is found at the beginning of a verse. The following example drawn from Job 29:10 is an illustration of a medial minus:

29:10 קול־נגידים נחפא' ולשונם לחפם דבקה:
 11Q10 [...] קל סגנין הטמרו () לחנך דב[ק לשנ(הון) [...]]
 RtgJob קל ארכונין אטמרו (ו) לישנהון למוריגיהון אדבקת:
 P-Job מלך העליון דחפא' (א) לעסא דבם לעת עכסא.

The voice of leaders hath been hidden, And their tongue to the palate hath cleaved. YLT
 the voice of the nobles was hushed, and their tongue cleaved to the roof of their mouth. RSV

We have already discussed the Aramaic versions' employment of transposition in this verse, but here our attention is focused on the Qumran translator's treatment of the *waw* conjunction. It is clear that, whereas the targum and Syriac translations have followed the Hebrew in linking the parallel stichs of Job 29:10 with the conjunction, the Qumran translator appears to have left the two clauses in apposition rather than providing the *waw* as an explicit grammatical marker of their relationship. The lack of a conjunction here does not materially alter the meaning of the Aramaic translation and its omission here seems most likely to have resulted from the translator's perception that it was stylistically unnecessary.⁸¹⁴ A second example is provided by the Qumran version's rendering of 27:12,

⁸¹⁴ Other medial minuses occur at 26:14b (between clauses) and 29:8 (between verbal forms). Medial minuses occur at 19:15 and 21:5 but in both cases the fragmentary state of the text complicates the determination of the cause of their absence.

27:12 הֵן-אַתֶּם כָּלְכֶם חַיִּיתֶם וְלִמָּה-זֶּה הִבֵּל תִּהְיֶהְלוּ:

11Q10 [...] כ]לכון חזיתון ()למה

RtgJob הא אתון כולכון אתנביתון/חמיתון (ו)למא דיין הבלא תהבלון:

P-Job מֵא אַנְטָא חֲלַף שִׁטָּא. (א)לכא חמיתון אנטא שומא.

Lo, ye — all of you — have seen, And why {is} this — ye are altogether vain? YLT

Behold, all of you have seen it yourselves; why then have you become altogether vain? RSV

Notwithstanding minor variations, the Aramaic versions' employ a form of the interrogative (לכא/למא/ה) which is cognate to that which appears in the Hebrew text they are rendering (למה). It is quite clear, however, that while the targum and Syriac versions preserve a representation of the Hebrew *waw*, the Qumran translation shows no equivalent at this location. While the inclusion of the conjunction before an interrogative appears elsewhere in the Hebrew of Job (e.g. Job 17:15), the Qumran translator has apparently perceived it here as being superfluous and to some extent incompatible with idiomatic Aramaic style.⁸¹⁵ A partial parallel is provided by English versions in which we see that a more literal rendering (YLT) will preserve a conjunction in a location corresponding to the Hebrew, while a more idiomatic translation (RSV) diverges from the source text to a minor, yet perceptible extent.

Unique initial *waw* minuses occur in 11Q10 only at the beginning of a particular type of verse, illustrated here by 23:1:

⁸¹⁵ The Qumran translator also shows a willingness to pass over the Hebrew *waw* in his translation when it occurs medially before the comparative particle. E.g. 27:16 (MT: בָּסָף וְכִחְמֹר יָכִין 11Q10: בָּסָף וְכִחְמֹר יָכִין) and 27:18 (MT: בֵּיתָו וְכִסְכָּה 11Q10: בֵּיתָו וְכִסְכָּה). Interestingly, in 11Q10's translation of 24:24 the *waw* has apparently not been omitted but instead replaced with a marker of alternation (א) before the comparative particle. (See below A1c [11Q10 substitution] below).

23:1 וַיַּעַן אֱיֹיֵב וַיֹּאמֶר:

() ענא איוב ואמ[ר] vacat 11Q10

(ו) אתיב איוב ואמר: RtgJob

(ס) חבא איהב איהב. P-Job

And Job answereth and saith: -- YLT

Then Job answered: RSV

While a *vacat* in the text clearly indicates that the Qumran translator has understood that a new section in the text is beginning, the translation lacks the initial *waw* present in the MT and the other Aramaic versions.⁸¹⁶ Similarly at 25:1, 40:6 and 42:1, where the translator of 11Q10 has encountered this same introductory phrase, the conjunction is also lacking. Bruce Zuckerman has noted that the lack of conjunction in this type of introductory sequence in 11Q10 (ענא... ואמר) is paralleled by the introductory expressions in the Imperial Aramaic of Daniel and Ahiqar where the conjunction is similarly lacking.⁸¹⁷ As may be seen from the treatment of וַיֹּאמֶר in this same verse, none of the Aramaic translators require *waw* in order to preserve the Hebrew narrative tense.⁸¹⁸ That *waw* is nevertheless lacking not only here but in identical contexts in three other locations suggests that the translator has omitted it, having perceived it as superfluous to an idiomatic Aramaic rendering of the verse.

A1. b) Plus/Addition

There are also instances where the translation from Qumran diverges from the MT in providing a *waw* where the conjunction is neither attested in the Hebrew nor in

⁸¹⁶ E. Kutsch, 'Die Textgliederung im hebräischen Ijobbuch sowie in 4QtgJob und in 11QtgJob' *Biblische Zeitschrift* 27 [2] (1983) 221-28.

⁸¹⁷ B.E. Zuckerman, *The Process of Translation*, 292 nn. 51,52. See for example, Daniel 2:5, 8, 15, 20, 26, 27, 47 etc and Ahiqar 110,118 etc.

⁸¹⁸ B.E. Zuckerman, *The Process of Translation*, 236 notes that 11Q10 translates the Hebrew *waw* + imperfect with this form.

understanding the form as being derived from חָמַם 'to be heated'.⁸²² The resulting Aramaic rendering אַתְּמָה*ה*א appears to be derived from Aramaic מָחו 'to dissolve/boil'.⁸²³ However, instead of having Job dissolved 'upon ashes and dust' (עַל-עֶפֶר וָאֵפֶר), the Qumran translator attempts to convey that Job's dissolution and boiling will transform him into עֶפֶר וְקֵטֶם. In order to facilitate this interpretation the translator supplies the 1st c. sg. verb וְאֵהוּא 'and I will become...' which is then integrated into the translation through the provision of a *waw* conjunction.⁸²⁴ Here, and on a few other occasions, we find the Qumran translator supplying *waw* in his Aramaic translation without being prompted by the Hebrew text.⁸²⁵ In these cases the motivation for addition is to be located in the translator's desire to integrate supplementary material into his translation.

A related but somewhat distinct motivation for the addition of *waw* may be seen below in 32:15, where the Qumran translator supplies the conjunction in order to link two propositions which are merely juxtaposed in the Hebrew,⁸²⁶

32:15 חָתוּ לֹא-עָנוּ עוֹד () הָעֵתִיקוּ מֵהֶם מְלִים:

11Q10 וְהַחֲשִׁיו (ו)נִטְרַת מִנְהוֹן [...]]

RtgJob אַתְּבֵרוּ וְלֹא אַתִּיבּוּ תוֹב () אֶסְתַּלְקוּ מִנְהוֹן מְלִיא:

P-Job צַלְמֵהּ הִלָּחַב לֹא בִּלְחָמָהּ, () אֶפְרַסֵּהּ מִנְהוֹן תֵּלֵא. הַצַּלְמֵהּ

They are dismayed and have no more to say; () words have failed them. NIV
They have broken down, They have not answered again, () They removed from themselves words. YLT

⁸²² This derivation is facilitated by the context (following עַל-עֶפֶר וָאֵפֶר 'concerning/upon ashes and dust') which fits well with the concept of heating or burning.

⁸²³ M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 167.

⁸²⁴ M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 167 notes that this verb when used with *lamedh* denotes 'to become' rather than merely 'to be'.

⁸²⁵ See for instance the Qumran translator's rendering of 30:15, 33:25 and 39:21 where *waw* has been supplied as part of a translation which diverges from the MT considerably. At 39:23 the *waw* is added by the translator due to an error in recognition or interpretation of two Hebrew terms in construct.

⁸²⁶ Such medial pluses occur at 30:2, 32:15, 35:10, 39:3 and 39:4 (where the addition is partially due to intra-verse influence). Such asyndetic co-ordination is not uncommon in Hebrew poetry (See J.C.L. Gibson, 'Co-ordination by *Vav* in Biblical Hebrew', 278).

In verse 15 of Job, chapter 32 where Elihu upbraids Job's 'friends' the MT does not include any linking conjunctions ('They are shattered, they've stopped answering, they are lost for words'[lit. words are removed from them]) preferring rather to link the clauses asyndetically. Although the Qumran translation of 32:15 is not preserved in its entirety⁸²⁷ sufficient material remains to see that 11Q10 includes a *waw* conjunction which serves to explicitly mark the co-ordination between the Aramaic rendering of these clauses 'and they were silent...and I withheld from them [words?]' While the syntax of the Hebrew seems unambiguous and neither RtgJob nor P-Job show the addition of the conjunction, the Aramaic translator appears to have provided the conjunction as a means of making the relationship between the clauses utterly clear.⁸²⁸

On other occasions the Qumran translation has a *waw* plus at the beginning of a verse where it is lacking both in the MT and in the other Aramaic versions of Job. The following instances, drawn from Job 39:6, 7 and 8 illustrate this type of modification:⁸²⁹

39:6 אֲשֶׁר-שָׁמְתִי עֲרֶכָה בֵּיתוֹ, וּמִשְׁכָּנֹתָיו מְלָחָה:
 11Q10 די שׁוּיַת דַּחְשֶׁת בֵּיתָהּ וּמִדְרָהּ בִּאֲרָע מְלִיחָה
 RtgJob די שׁוּיַת מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל בֵּיתָהּ וּמִשְׁכָּנֹתָיָא אֲרֵעַ צְדִיא:
 P-Job דַּחְשֶׁת פְּסֻלָּה בְּעֵינֵי. מִלְּפָנֵי מִלְּפָנֵי מִלְּפָנֵי.

⁸²⁷ Although it is by no means certain (because the end of the preceding line [XXI,6] is not preserved) most commentators have assumed that 11Q10 וְהָחֲשִׁי 'they were silent' corresponds to Heb. לֹא-עָנוּ עֹד 'they did not answer again'. (See for example, *Editio princeps*, 53; M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 208; B. Jongeling, *Fen Aramees hoek Job*, 88). If so, this is an example of 11Q10 opting for an interpretative translation much like P-Job utilises in 32:11 (interpreting הוֹחֲלִיתִי 'I waited' as meaning גָּמַל 'I was silent'). Whatever the correspondence in the first stich, the addition of the conjunction medially seems indisputable.

⁸²⁸ While neither of the English versions cited provide the *waw* between the latter two clauses as does the Qumran text, the NIV translators have chosen to supply a conjunction between the first two clauses.

⁸²⁹ Medial *waw* pluses such as those which appear in these verses will be dealt with below.

39:7 () יִשְׁחַק לְהַמְנוֹן קְרִיָּה תִּשְׁאֲוֹת' נוֹגֵשׁ לֹא יִשְׁמַע:
 11Q10 (ו) חֹאךְ עַל מֵהֵמָּה תִּקַּף קְרִיָּה וְנִגַּשְׁתָּ שְׁלִיט לֹא | יִשְׁמַע
 RtgJob () יִגַּחךְ לִרְנוֹשׁ קְרִיתָא אֲתִרְגַּשְׁתָּא דְרֵאדִי לֹא יִשְׁמַע:
 P-Job () חֲנִי בַּ שְׁמֵאָה דְּמֵהֵמָּה. הֵלֵךְ דִּנְהַב מִלֵּךְ דְּתַלְמִיָּה.

39:8 () יִתְּוֹר הָרִים מְרַעֵהוּ וְאַחֲרָיִם כָּל-יְרוּק יִדְרוֹשׁ:
 11Q10 (ו) יִבְחַר לֵה טוֹרִי[ן] לִרְעִיָּה וְ]בִתֵּר כָּל יְרוּק יִרְדֵּף
 RtgJob () יֵאלִיל טוֹרִיָּה מְרַעִיָּה וְבִתֵּר כָּל יְרוּקָא יִתְבַּע/יִבְעִי:
 P-Job () בְּשֵׁמֵאָה דְּלֵאֲדָא מְרַעֵהוּ. הֵלֵךְ בַּ מֵהֵמָּה דִּנְהַב.

Szpek, in her analysis of P-Job's treatment of the *waw*, has suggested that when a *waw* plus occurs in the Peshitta of Job at the beginning of a verse, it serves either to initiate a new unit of meaning (e.g. P-Job 1:16) or to continue a semantic unit begun in the preceding verse.(e.g. P-Job 1:17, 18).⁸³⁰ All of the unique *waw* pluses in 11Q10 appear to belong to the latter category illustrated above.⁸³¹ In Job 39:5-8, the so-called Voice from the Whirlwind poses a series of rhetorical questions which are used to emphatically press home the point that it is God, and not man, that ultimately rules and provides for the animal kingdom:

(39:5 Who has let the wild ass go free? Who has loosed the bonds of the swift ass,)
 39:6 to whom I have given the steppe for his home, and the salt land for his dwelling place?
 39:7 He scorns the tumult of the city; he hears not the shouts of the driver.
 39:8 He ranges the mountains as his pasture, and he searches after every green thing.

⁸³⁰ H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 127-128.

⁸³¹ Initial pluses include 39:7, 8, 25; 40:30 and 41:16. A *waw* also appears in 11Q10 as an initial plus at 32:16 but the text's fragmentary state of preservation precludes an unequivocal decision regarding its function.

The Qumran text shows initial conjunctions in verse 7 (וְחָאךְ עַל מַהְמָא) ‘and he laughs at the tumult...’) and verse 8 (וְיַבְחַר לֵה טוּרִין) ⁸³² ‘and he chooses mountains for himself as {his} past[ure]’. While neither the MT nor the other Aramaic versions possess the conjunctions at these points, these pluses in 11Q10 apparently serve to provide the Aramaic reader of the translation with explicit markers of co-ordination in this passage.⁸³³

A1. c) Substitution

While the Qumran Aramaic translation of Job shows several unique *waw* pluses and minuses, substitutions found only in this text are comparatively rare. In the example from 32:2a below, 11Q10’s use of אַדִּין ‘then’ in place of the Hebrew conjunction serves not to link what follows with the preceding material but, on the contrary to emphasise the beginning of a new section (marked פְּתוּחָה in the Masoretic text).

32:2 וַיַּחַר אֵלֶיָּהוּא בֶן-בְּרַכְאֵל הַבּוּזִי מִמְשַׁפַּחַת רָם

11Q10 (vacat preceding line) (אִדִּין) רַגְזָא [...] | זֶרַע רּוּמָא [...] ...

RtgJob (ו) תִּקִּיף רוּגְזָא דְאֵלִיהוּא בֶר בִּרְכָאֵל בּוּזָא מִן גְּנִיסַת אֲבֵרָהֻם

P-Job (א) אֲשַׁמְעָה אֲלֵהֶם בִּזְכָּרָא בְּחַוְיָא מִן צִבְלָא דְרָם.

and burn doth the anger of Elihu son of Barachel the Buzite, of the family of Ram; against Job hath his anger burned, because of his justifying himself more than God; YLT

Then Eli’hu the son of Bar’achel the Buzite, of the family of Ram, became angry. He was angry at Job because he justified himself rather than God; RSV

⁸³² Both 11Q10’s translation of MT יָתַר ‘to seek out (select), spy out, explore’ as יַבְחַר ‘he selects’, and its addition of a suffixed preposition לֵה ‘for himself’ suggest that the translator has incorrectly understood this occurrence of the Hebrew verb in the light of its usage in passages such as Nu 10:33, Dt 1:33 and Ezek. 20:6 where this Hebrew lexeme takes the *lamedh* as preposition with the meaning ‘choose/select’. F. Martinez *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 11*, 157 are thus not entirely correct in suggesting that RtgJob (‘He explores the mountains...’) and 11Q10 share a common interpretation. See KB³ תור 1. 573-4).

⁸³³ Although the Aramaic translator of 11Q10 has similarly added a *waw* at the beginning of his translation of 39:25, F. Martinez *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 11*, 159 have neglected to render it in their English translation. If not accidental, this omission of the Aramaic *waw* in English translation is a testimony to the pressure which may be exerted by English stylistic preferences even in a scholarly translation of an ancient text.

While this text division is marked in P-Job by ✧ at the end of the preceding verse (32:1), the Syriac translation itself has not been altered in the light of this textual division as appears to be the case in 11Q10. Of the Aramaic translations it is only 11Q10 which has chosen to explicitly mark the beginning of this new section with an alternative lexeme in his translation.⁸³⁴ The other unique substitution occurring at the beginning of a verse is found at 36:28 where the Qumran translator provides a *waw* where the Hebrew text begins with the relative pronoun (וְשֵׁנִי).⁸³⁵

A2. P-Job

A2. a) Minus/Omission

Like the Qumran Aramaic translation, P-Job shows unique *waw* minuses both at the beginning of a verse and at various points medially. At 17:15, near the beginning of the synoptic Aramaic Job material, we see that P-Job shows a *waw* minus at the beginning of the verse where the other Aramaic versions follow the MT in providing the conjunction:

⁸³⁴ Although the *waw* here does not function as a 'true' disjunctive in the Hebrew [ו + non-verb; See T. Lambdin, *Introduction to Biblical Hebrew* (Macmillan: 1971) 162], it is apparently perceived as such by the Aramaic translator as its consecutive-contrastive function is no longer operative. The Aramaic adverb now serves the function of the disjunctive, that is, it refers to new participants or announce a shift of scenery [for Hebrew see B. Waltke and M. O'Connor, § 39.2.3]. It is of course here at the beginning of Job, chapter 32 that the much debated Elihu speeches begin.

⁸³⁵ The translator of 11Q10 opts to substitute the *waw* conjunction for the Hebrew relative pronoun thereby transforming the Hebrew subordinate construction ('he distils his mist in rain, which the skies pour down' into a co-ordinate one ('...he forms the blasts of rain. And his clouds send down...'). While this same modification is attested elsewhere in P-Job (e.g. 22:10) 11Q10's proximate translation of the relative pronoun in the initial position elsewhere (22:16, 34:27, 37:17, 39:6) suggests that the motivation for this adjustment here is probably the stylistic preference of the translator rather than linguistic necessity. 11Q10 uniquely substitutes Aramaic וְ 'or' for the Hebrew *waw* at 25:3 and 24:24 (fragmentary) and וְ for the same at 28:23 (also fragmentary).

וְאֵיךְ אֶפְן תִּקְוָתִי 17:15

[.....] (ו) מֵא אֶפְן א 11Q10

(ו) הָאֵן/וֹאֵן דִּיכִי סְבָאֲרִי RtgJob

() () P-Job

And where {is} now my hope?... YLT

() 'Where then is my hope?...' RSV

P-Job, along with most modern English versions, does not include the conjunction following 17:13-14 ('If I look for Sheol as my house, if I spread my couch in darkness; if I say to the pit, 'You are my father,' and to the worm, 'My mother, or My sister,' Where [Heb. וְאֵיךְ(ו)] then is my hope...'). As was the case with the Qumran translation at 27:12 (see above) it appears to be the case that the Syriac translator has perceived the *waw* which appears before the interrogative (in this case, וְאֵיךְ) to be stylistically surplus to requirements and not worthy of representation in his target text. Furthermore, it may be that the Syriac translator has seen the Hebrew adverb אֶפְן (rendered by all three versions) as marking the apodosis 'If... where **then** is my hope?' despite the fact that it may here be functioning merely disjunctively. This, then would be an additional motivation for omitting the conjunction.⁸³⁶ As we saw in the case of Job 27:12, the English translation tradition also provides an illustration of more (YLT) and less (RSV) proximate formal renderings which find a parallel in the variation attested to by the Aramaic traditions.

Unlike 11Q10, however, which primarily shows its unique minuses initially, the Syriac translation of Job provides the majority of its unique minuses medially. An example from 38:3, also cited by Szpek, provides an illustration of this phenomenon:

⁸³⁶ H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 118-19 offers the following as the first of 5 constraints on P-Job's perception of the redundancy of *waw*: 'the *waw* conjunctive is unnecessary in conjoining the apodosis to the protasis in a conditional proposition.'

41:11 () מִפִּיּוֹ לִפְיָדִים יִהְיוּ כֹּה פִידוֹרִי אֵשׁ יִתְמַלְטוּ:

11Q10 () מִן פִּמָּה לִפְיָדִין | יִפְקֹן בִּלְשֹׁנִי אִשָּׁה יִרְטֹן

RtgJob () מִפּוֹמִיָּה בַעֲוִרִיא יִהְיוּ גִיצִין דְּנֹר מִשְׁתִּיזִין:

P-Job () נִפְמִי מִ פִּמָּה לִפְיָדִים אֵשׁ בִּלְשֹׁנִי דְּנֹרִיא. אֵשׁ צִבְּרָה
נֹרִיא מִלְּשֹׁנִי.

() Out of his mouth go flaming torches; sparks of fire leap forth. RSV

In Chapter 41 of Job, the composer of the divine speeches paints a vivid and memorable portrayal of the great sea creature Leviathan. After focusing on the beast's fierceness, the poet depicts its formidable armament, (v.10) 'His sneezings flash forth light, and his eyes are like the eyelids of the dawn. (v.11) Out of his mouth go flaming torches; sparks of fire leap forth.' As we have seen above in the Qumran translator's rendering of 39:6-8, here P-Job's translation reflects an attempt to provide an explicit marker of coordination between verses in order to delineate the unit of meaning as he has perceived it and to make this unit clear to the reader of the Syriac translation. The addition of this conjunction at the beginning of verse 11 [() נִפְמִי מִ פִּמָּה לִפְיָדִים] 'and from his mouth, lamps come forth...' reflects and, when added in the Syriac version, emphasises the semantic connections between verse 11 and the preceding verse.⁸⁴⁰

Even more common than initial pluses are the unique medial pluses found in the Syriac version of Job.⁸⁴¹

⁸⁴⁰ Other unique initial pluses in P-Job occur at 23:4, 25:3, 33:7, 35:14, 36:29, 39:4, 40:11, 41:10. See H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 126 n.43 for other initial pluses.

⁸⁴¹ See for instance P-Job at 23:6, 26:23, 29:7, 31:40, 33:15, 35:9, 36:29, 37:16, 38:8, 23, 39:23, 40:23, 41:9, 15. See also Szpek's list for the total picture in P-Job. I am unable to agree however with Szpek's analysis of 24:15: although the Hebrew infinitival construction לֵאמֹר 'saying' does not appear often in the predominantly poetic book of Job, it is treated in 24:15 () אֵמַר in the same fashion as it is in other parts of the Peshitta (i.e., provision of a conjunction followed by a verb of the same root in a form determined by its grammatical context. See for instance in the Pentateuch: Gen. 37:15, Exod. 7:16, Lev. 23:23, Num. 20:7, Deut. 27:1). Other locations where P-Job adds the *waw* medially include 37:13 and 40:24.

38:26 לְהַמְטִיר עַל-אֶרֶץ לֹא-אִישׁ () מְדַבֵּר לֹא-אָדָם בֵּן:

11Q10 להנחתה על ארע xxxi, 4 () מדבר די-לא אנש בה

RtgJob ...מטרא עלוי ארעא דלית בה גבר () מדבר דלא בר-נש ביה:

P-Job לחסדם חלוא בל אדמא דלא אש. (א) בחבוא דלמס בז

to bring rain on a land where no man is, () on the desert in which there is no man; RSV

As is the case with 11Q10, the bulk of P-Job's unique *waw* pluses occur between two independent stichs. Here it seems that the Syriac translator is reproducing in his Aramaic target text, a use of the conjunction common in Hebrew verse. While two more or less synonymous propositions may be co-ordinated asyndetically (i.e. without the conjunction) in Hebrew poetry, it is often the case that the two stichs may be joined through the use of the so-called *epexegetical waw*.⁸⁴² Here in 38:26, where the Hebrew stichs are merely apposed, the Syriac translator appears to have replicated this epexegetical use by providing the *waw* as an explicit marker of co-ordination. Although as a rule, the *waw* is supplied in P-Job in response to linguistic/stylistic demands, on rare occasions the Syriac translator does make use of the conjunction to incorporate additional material into his translation.⁸⁴³

A2. c) Substitution

As is the case with the Qumran translation, the Syriac translation of P-Job occasionally shows a substitution of the MT conjunction which is otherwise unattested in the

⁸⁴² B. Waltke and M. O'Connor, *Hebrew Syntax*, § 39.2.4 suggest that the function of the *epexegetical* conjunction is 'problematic' in verse, but note that the *waw* may in these circumstances function to intensify the poetic language. Should the *waw* which is provided by the Syriac translator of P-Job in these circumstances be seen as also fulfilling an *epexegetical* function?

⁸⁴³ This use of the *waw* also appears in 11Q10 (see B2a below) but is relatively rare in both the Syriac and Qumran versions when compared with uses dictated by language difference. While H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 122 has suggested that P-Job's addition at the beginning of 38:29 is similarly motivated by the inclusion of extra material in this verse, 11Q10's addition at the same point suggests that P-Job may well have added the conjunction even without the addition of supplementary text.

Aramaic versions. Here in 25:4 we see an example of the Syriac translation representing the *waw* with the Syriac conjunction ܐܘ:

25:4 וְמִה־יִצְדָּק אֲנֹשׁ עִם־אֵל וְמִה־יִּזְכֶּה יְלֹוד אִשָּׁה:

[...] [אֱלֹהָא (ו) מֵא יִצְדָּק] 11Q10

וְמִה יִזְדְּכִי בֶר־נֶשׁ עִם אֱלֹהָא (ו) מִה יִזְכִּי יְלֹוד/יְלִיד אֲתָתָא: RtgJob

P-Job ܐܘܒܐ ܡܥܬܐ ܒܐܢܐ ܠܡܪܐ ܒܐܠܡܐ. (ܐܘ) ܐܘܒܐ
ܐܘܒܐ ܠܡܐ ܐܡܬܐܐ.

How then can man be justified with God?(or) how can he be clean [that is] born of a woman? AV
How then can man be righteous before God?() How can he who is born of woman be clean? RSV

As Szpek has noted, P-Job has chosen to render the Hebrew *waw* (which may be used to indicate ‘or’)⁸⁴⁴ with another co-ordinating conjunction (ܐܘ ‘or’) used by the Syriac with the expressed purpose of joining alternatives. While the Syriac translation of the two stichs exhibits slight deviations from the MT (‘How then is a man found/able⁸⁴⁵ to be just with God *or* how can one born of a woman be pure’) it is clear that through the substitution of Syriac ܐܘ for the Hebrew *waw*, the translator of P-Job has made the ‘alternative’ aspect of the two Hebrew stichs more explicit in his Syriac translation.⁸⁴⁶ It is interesting to note that the Aramaic translation from Qumran makes this exact same substitution (ܐܘ for *waw*) in the preceding verse, where Bildad’s first pair of rhetorical questions emphasise the might of God. It seems that while both the translators of 11Q10 and P-Job have sensed the need for some type of explicit marking of the two pairs of rhetorical questions in vv 3-4, each chose to mark a different pair.⁸⁴⁷

⁸⁴⁴ For the so-called ‘alternative’ function of the *waw* see R. J. Williams, *Hebrew Syntax*, 71.

⁸⁴⁵ For the former understanding see Payne-Smith, 115; for the latter see G. Rignell, *The Peshitta to the Book of Job*, 202.

⁸⁴⁶ See H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 129 for a discussion of this phenomenon throughout P-Job.

⁸⁴⁷ The question of why one translator chooses one pair while one prefers another would appear to be dif-

A3. *RtgJob*

A3. a) Minus/Omission

We now turn to a consideration of the last remaining Aramaic version—the Rabbinic targum of Job—with respect to its particular use and treatment of the *waw* in rendering the Hebrew text. It is slightly surprising to note that, unlike the other two versions which omit the conjunction comparatively often, *RtgJob* presents not a single, unequivocal example of an omission of the Hebrew *waw* which is unattested in the other Aramaic versions. The following example drawn from the Rabbinic targum's translation of Job 40:10 is one of only three possible locations where it might be argued that an omission has taken place.

עֲדָה נָא גֵאוֹן וְגִבָּה וְהוֹד וְהָדָר תִּלְבָּשׁ: 40:10

העדי נא גוה ורם רוח (ו)זויי»ו» והדר ויקר תלבש 11Q10

אתקין כדון גיותניא וגובהא ()/(ו)זיוא ושבהורא תלבש: *RtgJob*

לבص ראמא ראמא ראמא (א)אמא ראמא ראמא. P-Job

Adorn yourself with eminence and dignity; And clothe yourself with honor and majesty. NAS

Deck yourself with majesty and dignity; () clothe yourself with glory and splendour. RSV

Although most MSS within the *RtgJob* textual tradition appear to have omitted the *epexegetical waw* which occurs between the two stichs of 40:10, some witnesses (ע ב א) do preserve a conjunction at this point. Setting aside for a moment the fact that such an omission would certainly constitute an exception to the targumist's usual treatment of the *waw*, it should be noted that the similarity of ו (i.e. the first character of

ficult, if not impossible, to answer with any kind of certainty. While the Authorised Version has rendered the conjunction with a wooden 'and', the more recent English version chooses to omit the conjunction altogether. Other Syriac substitutions for Hebrew *waw* occur at 34:12 (א) and 42:11(-א). P-Job also shows a tendency to replace various Hebrew prepositions and particles with the simple Syriac *waw* when either the Hebrew text or its Syriac translation suggest that the *waw* might be more contextually appropri-

וַיִּי) and ו may well have led to the omission of the conjunction through haplography at some point in the transmission of the targum text. While the evidence of recent English versions provides some evidence that the translation of this verse from Hebrew into another language may indeed allow for an omission of the conjunction, the strong possibility of a textual error here makes any such conclusion rather tentative.⁸⁴⁸ Because all three examples of unique omission provided by RtgJob are only partially attested in the textual tradition, it seems safe to conclude that if *waw* omission exists at all in RtgJob it is very much an exception to the rule and may have given rise to considerable textual confusion amongst copyists. Given the particular circumstances of the texts involved, it seems more likely that these apparent omissions of the conjunction have been erroneously imported into the targum text.

A3. b) Plus/Addition

While the evidence of the omission of *waw* in RtgJob's translation is questionable due to textual variants, there are indisputable additions of the *waw* in the Rabbinic targum text which do not appear in the other Aramaic versions. The number of locations where such additions are present are, however, relatively few in comparison with the Qumran and Syriac versions and occur primarily in passages of a type illustrated by this example from Job 25:2:⁸⁴⁹

ate. See 29:7, 30:1, 32:11, 33:13, 36:24, 37:11.

⁸⁴⁸ The other possible minuses found in RtgJob are also unevenly attested in the MSS and both involve the confusion of similar characters (ו and י). At 26:11, some witnesses to RtgJob lack the *waw* conjunction and render with an Aramaic imperfect, while others [ח ז ר נ כ ו ג ב א] preserve a participle and retain the conjunction (וִרְתִּי). The rendering of the preceding verbal form with an Aramaic participle by RtgJob suggests that the *waw* has been mistaken for a *yodh* at some point during the transmission process and that the following verbal form has then been understood as an imperfect. Similarly at 33:27, although several MSS (Stec ס מ ל ט) have omitted the *waw* conjunction before the verb form (יִמַּר) the majority of witnesses do preserve the conjunction (with both perfect and imperfect forms represented). See D.M. Stec, *The Text of the Targum of Job, ad loc.*

⁸⁴⁹ Unlike the cases described below where the addition of the *waw* appears to be linked to other 'prior' concerns, RtgJob's addition of the *waw* at 40:12 appears to be a genuine (albeit rare) plus which is also supplied in many English versions (e.g. NIV: 'Look at every proud man *and* humble him...').

25:2 הַמַּשָּׁל וְפָחַד עִמּוֹ עֲשֵׂה שְׁלוֹם בְּמִרוֹמָיו:

11Q10 [...]ש[לטן (ו)רבו עם אלהא ע[בד [...] ix, 5 [...] במרו]מ[ה

RtgJob T1 שולטנא (ו)דלוחא גביה/עימיה עבד שלם בשמי מרומוהי:

RtgJob T2 מיכאל מן ימיניה {ו}הוא דאשא (ו)גבריאל משמאליה {ו}הוא דמיא וברייתא קדישתא פתיכין אשתא ומיא {ו}בשולטנותיה (ו)דחלתיה עבד שלמא בשמי שמיא/מרומא דיליה:

P-Job אַלְהָא (ה)הַגָּלָא גַּבְיָא בְּבִי צִלְאָא בְּחִימָהּ.

Dominion and fear are with God; he makes peace in his high heaven. RSV

RtgJob in addition to providing a proximate rendering of 25:2 in T1, also provides a divergent interpretation (T2) which results in a radically expanded version. On closer scrutiny, however, it appears that the expanded T2 includes the supplementary material along with a formally literal rendering of the Hebrew. The translator renders the first MT term הַמַּשָּׁל 'dominion' with the expansion מיכאל מן ימיניה {ו}הוא דאשא 'Michael on his right and he is of fire...' and later in the same verse with a second more literal equivalent בשולטניה {ו} 'and with his dominion'. The second term in MT פָּחַד ('and fear' is understood by the RtgJob translator first as דמיא {ו}הוא דמיא 'and Gabriel on his left and he is of water...' and then again later as דחלתיה {ו} 'and his fearfulness'. It is not the content of the expansions which interests us at this point. Rather, our concern here is with the translator's use of the *waw*.⁸⁵⁰ All the Aramaic versions, including RtgJob, preserve the phrasal *waw*

⁸⁵⁰ C. Mangan, *The Targum of Job*, 16 n. iv has observed that the introduction of references to angels is not uncommon in RtgJob. In addition to Michael and Gabriel, Sammael is also mentioned by name in RtgJob (28:7); R. Weiss, *התרגום הארמי לספר איוב*, 253 provides evidence that the understanding of these two Hebrew terms as angels is well attested in Midrashic sources and Rabbinic literature in general (See for example *Tanhuma* ויגש 6; *Zohar* (Leviticus) 12b; for further citations see 253 n.117). Interestingly the correspondences of 'Michael' with 'fire' and 'Gabriel' with 'water' attested to by the targum are reversed in much of the Rabbinic material. Again it is difficult to determine whether the targum is the source of the material or whether the translator has drawn on rabbinic sources or traditions common to both.

which links the first two Hebrew terms (enclosed in ()). In RtgJob's case, both proximate and supplemented translations are linked with *waw*. But while 11Q10 and P-Job represent only the phrasal *waw* which appears between the two initial terms in the MT, the translator of RtgJob provides several additional conjunctions unrelated to the 'translation' of the Hebrew. The inclusion of interpretative material has led the translator to introduce these additional conjunctions (enclosed in { }) which facilitate the integration of this 'supplementary material' and the 'translation' into a single unit.⁸⁵¹

A3. c) Substitution

The translator of RtgJob does not show any otherwise unattested substitutions of *waw*.

A4. Summary of *waw* modifications unique to the respective Aramaic versions

The material presented thus far enables us to at least begin to answer the first question posed in the introduction, namely, 'How do the translators responsible for the Aramaic translations of the Hebrew book of Job treat and represent the *waw* conjunction in their respective renderings?'

While both the Qumran and Syriac translations show otherwise unattested omissions both at the beginning of verses and medially, the Qumran translation specifically tends to uniquely omit an initial *waw* (A1a) when it appears at the beginning of a new section of Hebrew text. Both 11Q10 and P-Job show a willingness to omit an equivalent for Hebrew *waw* when it immediately precedes an interrogative (A1a, A2a). The majority of P-Job's unique omissions (A2a) come where the Hebrew text uses the *waw* to conjoin simple verbal clauses. In stark contrast to these versions, RtgJob shows signs of *waw* omission in only three locations and all three seem most likely to be attributed to the translation's transmission history rather than the translator himself (A3a).

⁸⁵¹ At 24:24 RtgJob also provides an additional *waw* where an interpretative rendering is offered. A *waw* is also added by this translator in his rendering of 33:29 where the divergence of all three Aramaic versions is probably due to a shared (i.e., linguistic) inability to provide a proximate rendering of the Hebrew.

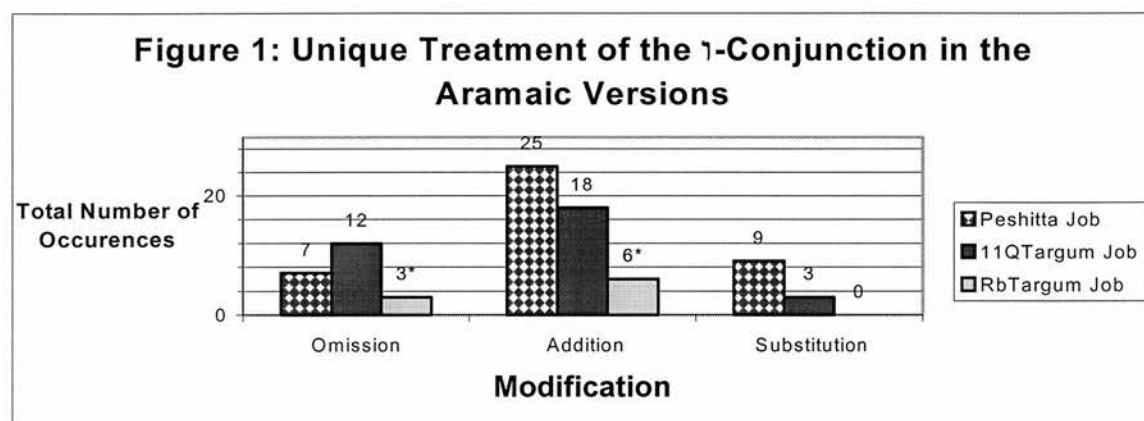
With respect to the addition of the conjunction, both 11Q10 and the Peshitta of Job provide numerous unique examples of the *waw* being supplied where it is not present in the MT. Both supply the *waw* medially (A1b, A2b) in order to establish an explicit co-ordinative link between two or more stichs as well as adding it verse-initially to facilitate a linkage with a preceding verse or verses. While the Qumran and targum translators are more likely to supply the conjunction in order to integrate supplementary material than their Syriac counterpart, it is important to note that in the case of 11Q10, this use of the *waw* accounts for only a small part of the total number of additions. On the other hand, the targumist (unlike the other two translators) is almost entirely restricted to this 'integrative' use of the *waw* and virtually never provides the conjunction at the beginning or medially in order to explicitly enhance the conjunction of two units which in Hebrew show no grammatically marked linkage (A3b).

Analysis of the Aramaic versions' unique substitutions with respect to *waw* shows that the Syriac translation (A2c) and that of Qumran (A1c) occasionally provide a contextually appropriate substitution for the MT conjunction and will also replace an element in the Hebrew with the Aramaic *waw* under the influence of linguistic and stylistic constraints. The Rabbinic targum of Job, however, shows no evidence of either type of substitution with respect to this conjunction (A3c).

A glance at Figure 1 below shows that 11Q10 and Peshitta Job display far more unique divergences in each category than does the Rabbinic targum of Job.⁸⁵² While the Qumran translator is more likely to omit the *waw* conjunction in his rendering, his Syriac counterpart shows more willingness to supply or add this conjunction and to provide it, or avoid it, by means of substitution. It is, RtgJob, however, which again seems to stand apart from the other two in terms of its unique treatment of the *waw* conjunction. As is the case in the other Aramaic versions, additions make up the largest single cate-

⁸⁵² An asterisked figure has been used for RtgJob's total omissions (3*) to highlight the partial attestation of the modification in the textual witnesses. The total number of additions (6*) has also been provided with an asterisk, but in the case of pluses this asterisk is to point up the fundamental difference between the *nature* of the additions made by RtgJob (being primarily in non-translational material) and the other two Aramaic versions (primarily a translational response to linguistic/stylistic constraints).

gory, but it is important to note that the nature of RtgJob's additions differs significantly in that the *waw* appears to be added almost exclusively when the targumist is in 'supplementary mode' and not when he is, strictly speaking, 'translating' the Hebrew. In fact, when the lack of even a single substitution and the dubious nature of the Rabbinic targum's three possible examples of omission are both taken into account, it may be suggested that in its treatment of the *waw*, the Rabbinic targum is scrupulously *literal* in comparison with the other Aramaic versions.



B. Modifications Shared by Two or More Aramaic Versions

Having looked at the way in which the three Aramaic versions of Job treat the *waw* in different textual locations, it now remains to examine the relationships which obtain between the respective versions in this regard. We turn therefore to instances where two or more of the Aramaic versions appear to treat or represent the *waw* in the same manner in relation to the Masoretic Text.

B1. Modifications common to 11Q10, RtgJob and P-Job

In light of RtgJob's demonstrated lack of unique deviations, it is perhaps not entirely surprising that the number of instances where the treatment of the *waw* is similar in all three Aramaic versions is quite low. In fact, the pair of shared omissions and total lack of common substitutions amongst the three versions, parallels RtgJob's preference for addition as opposed to omission or substitution.

B1. a) Minus/Omission common to 11Q10, RtgJob and P-Job

29:11 כִּי אִזָּן שְׁמָעָה וַתֵּאֱשָׁרֵנִי וְעַיִן רָאָתָה וַתַּעֲיִדֵנִי:

11Q10 [] [שְׁמַע אֲדִין () שְׁבַחְתָּנִי וְעַיִן] [...]

RtgJob אַרוֹם אוֹדְנָא שְׁמַעַת () אִמְרַת טַב לִי וְעִינָא דַחְמַת אִסְהַדַת עֲלִי:

P-Job מַלְךְ דְּאִדְנָא דְּצַחְחֵט () צַבְסֵט. חַבְבָּא דְּטוֹט שְׁמַדְחֵט.

For the ear heard, and declareth me happy, And the eye hath seen, and testifieth {to} me. YLT

When the ear heard, () it called me blessed, and when the eye saw, it approved; RSV

We have already encountered the Aramaic versions' rendering of 29:11 in connection with our discussion of the Qumran translator's inverted representation of אִזָּן שְׁמָעָה in his Aramaic rendering ([ת]שְׁמַע אֲדִין). What interests us here is of course the observation that whereas the Hebrew text possesses a *waw* conjunction in the middle of 29:11a (וַתֵּאֱשָׁרֵנִי), none of the Aramaic translators appear to provide an equivalent at this location in their renderings.⁸⁵³ Whereas in the Hebrew, the *waw* allows the perfective value of the suffixed form (שְׁמָעָה) to be preserved by the *waw* + prefix conjugation (וַתֵּאֱשָׁרֵנִי), the Aramaic translators clearly have no need of such a construction and prefer instead to provide Aramaic suffix forms ($\text{אִמְרַת / שְׁבַחְתָּנִי}$).

But this explanation, in and of itself, does not adequately account for the loss of the *waw* as the translators might well have preserved the *waw* along with these perfective forms.⁸⁵⁴ More crucial in this case is the presence of the temporal-causal form at the beginning (כִּי), and the fact that all three Aramaic translators seem to have understood 29:11a as a subordinate construction rather than a co-ordinate one.⁸⁵⁵ As Zuckerman has pointed out, the omission of the conjunction here by all three translators represents a

⁸⁵³ Only one MS witness to RtgJob (ג) shows the more formally precise representation וְאִמְרַת .

⁸⁵⁴ The English translation of YLT provides a parallel whereby the conjunctions are explicitly preserved in the rendering.

⁸⁵⁵ That the temporal-causal conjunction 'for/when' is not decisive in this respect is shown by the co-ordinate and subordinate clauses of the YLT and RSV respectively.

common attempt to provide a smoother more idiomatic translation of the Hebrew text as they perceived it.⁸⁵⁶

A second omission shared by all three Aramaic versions is found at Job 36:26:

36:26 הֵן-אֵל שְׂגִיָּא וְלֹא נִדְעָ מִסְפַּר שָׁנָיו וְלֹא-חֶקֶר:
 11Q10 הָא אֱלֹהָא רַב הוּא וַיּוֹמְדוּן סִגְיָא [...] דַּע וּמִנִּין שְׁנוּהִי () דִּי-לֹא סוּף
 RtgJob הָא אֱלֹהָא סִגִּי וְלֹא נִדְעָ סְכוּם שְׁנוּהִי () לִית סוּף:
 P-Job מַה אֱלֹהִים גָּמַל מִהּ אֵלָּא מַה-הִיא. הַלְבַּחְתָּ צִתָּהּ, () לֵאמֹר שֹׁפֵר.

Behold, God is great, and we know him not; the number of his years is unsearchable. RSV

Lo, God {is} high, And we know not the number of His years, Yea, there {is} no searching. YLT

As is the case at 34:24, where this same Hebrew expression also occurs, all three Aramaic versions here provide renderings which deviate from their Hebrew source text. In the final clause of the Hebrew text of Job 36:26, the *waw* conjunction appears to introduce the predicate⁸⁵⁷ (so RSV, NRSV etc.) and thus understood serves no purpose in the Aramaic renderings—all of which show a negated verbless clause.⁸⁵⁸ All three Aramaic translators seem therefore to have omitted this *waw* in an attempt to come to grips with an unusual Hebrew text and create an intelligible target text for their readers/hearers. While both P-Job and the Qumran translation omit the conjunction on numerous occasions, this sole instance of a common omission amongst the three Aramaic versions constitutes the only certain example of omission of the conjunction in the Rabbinic targum.

⁸⁵⁶ B.E. Zuckerman, *The Process of Translation*, 498.

⁸⁵⁷ S.R. Driver and G.B. Gray, *The Book of Job* (II), 282.

⁸⁵⁸ At 5:9 and 9:10 חֶקֶר is negated with the expected particle Hebrew particle (אֵין) and rendered accordingly by both RtgJob (דִּלִּית) and P-Job (גִּלִּי). At Job 34:24 (לֹא-חֶקֶר) however the cognate verbal negation particle in Aramaic is employed with no variation in the renderings of RtgJob and P-Job.

B1. b) Plus/Addition common to 11Q10, RtgJob and P-Job

When we turn to the subject of shared pluses in the Aramaic versions, the three translations provide several instances which seem to illustrate a common concern:

29:24 אֲשַׁתֶּק אֱלֹהִים () לֹא יֶאֱמִינוּ וְאוֹר פָּנַי לֹא יִפְּלוּן:
 11Q10 [...] אֲחֵאךְ לַהוֹן (ו) לֹא יִהְיֶמְנוּ [...] xv, 2 [...] וְ
 RtgJob אֲדַחַךְ אֲמַטוּלַהוֹן (ו) לֹא יִהְיֶמְנוּ וְקַלְסַתוֹר אֲפִי לֹא יִסְתַּכְלוֹן:
 P-Job אֲחֵאךְ אֲמַטוּלַהוֹן (ו) לֹא יִהְיֶמְנוּ וְקַלְסַתוֹר אֲפִי לֹא יִסְתַּכְלוֹן.

I laugh unto them () — they give no credence, And the light of my face cause not to fall. YLT

I smiled on them when they had no confidence; and the light of my countenance they did not cast down. RSV

While the Hebrew text of 29:24a merely apposes the first verbal phrase (אֲשַׁתֶּק אֱלֹהִים) with the second (לֹא יֶאֱמִינוּ), the Aramaic versions differ from the source text in their respective renderings. The appearance of the *waw* conjunction in all three versions, as well as other versions and medieval MSS has led Zuckerman to suggest that a variant Hebrew *Vorlage* once preserved the conjunction where the text preserved in the MT now lacks it.⁸⁵⁹ This is, of course, impossible to rule out but it is equally possible that the translators supplied the conjunction themselves in order to introduce the negative verbal phrase which follows. Whereas the second part of the verse (v.24b) represents a single clause and thus does not require a *waw* conjunction prior to the Aramaic rendering of לֹא יִפְּלוּן, the translators of the RSV do suggest that some explicit marking of the relationship between the two verbal phrases in the first half of the verse is also required by some English readers. Were this the only example of *waw* addition in all three Aramaic versions, there would be little means of deciding between the two explanations offered above. On this occasion, however, other instances do offer some guidance.

⁸⁵⁹ B.E. Zuckerman, *The Process of Translation*, 523. (36 Kennicott MSS; 46 Rs. MSS, 5 Rs. MSS first hand, 10 Ginsburg) Symmachus: δε ου.

It is interesting to note that three of the four other examples of *waw* addition shared by all three versions, occur within the space of three verses in chapter 32.⁸⁶⁰ While the fragmentary nature of 11Q10's rendering of 32:15 complicates any comparison with both the MT and the other versions, the following verse 16 of the same chapter provides ample illustration:

32:16 וְהוֹחֲלֵתִי בִּי-לֹא יִדְבְּרוּ כִּי עָמְדוּ () לֹא-עָנּוּ עוֹד:

11Q10 קָמוּ (ו) לֹא יִמְלִלּוּ עוֹד... [

RtgJob וְאֹרִיכִית אַרְוֹם לֹא יִמְלִלּוּ שְׁתִּקּוֹן קָמוּ (ו) לֹא אוֹתִיבוּ תוֹב:

P-Job מַלְלָה זֹלָה מַלְלָה. מַלְלָה זִמְרָה (ה) וְהִסָּב לֹא חֲסִימָה.

And I have waited, but they do not speak, For they have stood still, () They have not answered any more. YLT

And shall I wait, because they do not speak, because they stand there, and answer no more? RSV

While the MT merely juxtaposes the positive and succeeding negative propositions, all three Aramaic versions provide the *waw* which then serves to explicitly coordinate the phrases in translation. ('...they stand there, (and) answer no more?') Similarly in 32:13, where a positive verbal clause is followed by a negative clause in the MT (אֵל יִדְכֶנּוּ לֹא-אִישׁ: 'God will/may vanquish him, not man') all three Aramaic versions of Job again provide the *waw* conjunction. And, as already mentioned, a similar situation seems to be behind the shared addition of the conjunction at 32:15.⁸⁶¹ Although in verse 15, 11Q10 does not preserve the actual negative particle in its Aramaic rendering, the

⁸⁶⁰ All three versions do provide a *waw* between 37:11a and b, but in the case of RtgJob it is apparent from the MSS (See D.M. Stec, *The Text of the Targum of Job*, 259) that the addition of the conjunction is directly linked to a supplementation of the Hebrew text (וּרְיָח) 'and the wind (scatters the cloud of its/his rain) by the translator. This further illustrates the tendency outlined above: whereas 11Q10 and P-Job will provide *waw* frequently to conjoin independent propositions, RtgJob primarily uses it in situations where the Hebrew text has been supplemented or altered for other reasons. At 39:1 where both 11Q10 and P-Job add the *waw* between the two halves of the verse, RtgJob provides a different conjunction (כִּד).

⁸⁶¹ The odd verse out in this sequence, 32:14, also contains negative propositions but these are both introduced by *waw* in the MT.

MT behind the translation (חָתוּ לֹא-עָנוּ עֲוֹד) ‘they are discomfited; they do not answer’) is again a positive verbal clause followed by a negative one. The fact that the usually conservative translator of RtgJob has joined the other two versions in providing the conjunction here may perhaps be taken as an indication that the normal constraints of fidelity to the Hebrew text have for whatever reason been overridden by a desire for idiomatic Aramaic.⁸⁶² One caveat must nevertheless be raised with regard to RtgJob’s additions in all three of these verses: the fact that these additions, as was the case with the targum’s unique omissions, are not found uniformly across the MS tradition of RtgJob raises questions regarding the originality of the additions. When viewed in the light of the other Aramaic versions, however, the weight of the textual evidence does seem to support RtgJob’s divergence from the MT here in chapter 32.⁸⁶³ In light of the situation in chapter 32, it will be no surprise to find that at 30:13 (the only other instance of *waw* addition attested by all three Aramaic versions at the same textual location) the conjunction is again supplied between a positive verbal phrase and a negative one (לְהוֹתִי יַעֲלִיו () לֹא עֲזָר לָמוֹ). Having seen a rather clear pattern emerge with regard to the Aramaic translators’ shared linguistic-stylistic preference for adding the conjunction in a particular context, it seems likely that the first instance discussed (29:24) should be attributed not to a variant *Vorlage* but rather to the same linguistic-stylistic constraints which have influenced the additions elsewhere.

B2. Modifications common to 11Q10 and RtgJob

B2. a) Plus/Addition common to 11Q10 and RtgJob

Again we find that it is only in their addition of *waw* (rather than substitution or omission) that the Qumran translator and Rabbinic targum translator find any common

⁸⁶² Also interesting is P-Job’s tendency to provide the conjunction in the context outlined above, while nevertheless omitting the *waw* between simple verbal clauses (See A2a above).

⁸⁶³ 32:13-majority reading = *waw* plus; exceptions (א ב ג ל ט ע); 32:15-majority reading = *waw* plus; exceptions (ב ג); 32:16-majority reading = *waw* plus; exception (ע).

ground which is not also attested in P-Job. In fact, only one such addition occurs, and it does so in the respective translations of 37:13:

37:13 () אִם-לְשֶׁבֶט () אִם-לְאַרְצָו () אִם-לְחֹסֶד יִמְצָאֶהוּ:

11Q10 הֵן לְמַכְתֵּשׁ 4 xxix, הֵן לְאַרְעָא הֵן לְכַפֵּן
(ו) חֲסִרְנָה (ו) הֵן פִּתְגָם חֹבֶל לְהוּא 5 xxix, עֲלִיהָ

RtgJob אֵין מִטְרָא דְפִּוּרְעִנּוּתָא בִּימִיא (ו) בְּמַדְבַּר «י» אֵין מִטְרָא
רְזִיא לְאִילָנִי טוּוּרִיא (ו) גְּלִימַתָּא אֵין נִיחָא דְחֲסִדָּא לְחֻקְלִי
(ו) כְּרָמִי (ו) פִּירִי יִסְפְּקִינָה:

P-Job אֵין לְקַלְהָא (ו) אֵין לְאִדָּא. (ו) אֵין לְשִׁטְרָא דְחֲסִדָּא בְּמֶ:

Whether for correction, or for his land, or for love, he causes it to happen. RSV

This verse, coming at the end of a section detailing divine sovereignty over water in its various states (ice, rain etc), suggests the various reasons for God's orchestration of the rain clouds.(v.12) While P-Job provides co-ordinating conjunctions before the latter two alternatives (אֵין לְשִׁטְרָא. אֵין לְאִדָּא. אֵין לְקַלְהָא) as is the case in English ('or'), both the Qumran translation (2x) and RtgJob (3x) show their addition of conjunctions not in parallel with the Syriac translation but instead in sections which deviate (in RtgJob's case, substantially) from the Hebrew. For instance in RtgJob's expansion of Hebrew MT 'gushing rain for the trees of the mountains and the hills'⁸⁶⁴) the targumist supplies a *waw* to co-ordinate the final two nouns. Similarly in the translation of MT אִם-לְחֹסֶד with

אֵין נִיחָא דְחֲסִדָּא לְחֻקְלִי וְכְרָמִי וּפִירִי 'or *soft [rain] of charity/kindness for the fields and the vineyards and fruit.*' RtgJob provides two conjunctions which serve the same purpose. We see that in RtgJob's rendering of each Hebrew clause, the *waw* has been provided at least once. However, the additions have come not *between* clauses as in P-Job but in the midst of phrases which form part of the targumist's expanded translation.

⁸⁶⁴ C. Mangan, *The Targum of Job*, 81 n. 9.

The Qumran version's double rendering of MT אִם-לְחֶסֶד 'or for mercy/love' with הֵן לִכְפֹּן וְחִסְרָנָה 'or for a famine and for its want'⁸⁶⁵ also shows the use of *waw* to co-ordinate supplementary material with translation. The following words in 11Q10 וְהֵן פִּתְגָם חֹב 'and if (i.e., or) a case of law-breaking'⁸⁶⁶ have no equivalent in the MT and the motivation for their addition is unclear. Again, as is the case in RtgJob, the *waw* is here being used in the Qumran translation to introduce material with no correspondence in the Hebrew.⁸⁶⁷ While this example of a modification shared by 11Q10 and RtgJob shows that the Qumran translator may also use *waw* to incorporate material and divergent interpretation into his translation, the fact that this is the sole instance to be found in the sample confirms that unlike RtgJob, this is not the primary cause for the Qumran translator's introduction of the conjunction across the version as a whole.

B3. Modifications common to RtgJob and P-Job

There are no instances of modifications of the *waw* shared by these two versions alone.⁸⁶⁸

B4. Modifications common to 11Q10 and P-Job

B4. a) Minus/Omission

At three locations within the sample, both the Qumran and Syriac translations appear to omit a *waw* which is present in the MT and also preserved by the Rabbinic tar-

⁸⁶⁵ *Editio princeps*, 68 suggests that the translator here has provided a double rendering based on חֶסֶד 'lack, want'. It is difficult to determine whether the translator has made an erroneous identification here or alternatively has seen the 'reading' of *resh* for *daleth* as a means of making sense of the verse.

⁸⁶⁶ Reading here with F. Martinez *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 11*, 145, 46. These later editors garner support for this reading from TgOnqelos Exod 22:8. (equiv. to MT דָּבָר פֶּשַׁע).

⁸⁶⁷ 11Q10's final addition does show some similarity to the usage in P-Job, however the *waw* introduces a clause rather than a phrase.

⁸⁶⁸ This conclusion substantiates the suggestion of H.M. Szpek 'On the Influence of the Targum', 144 that RtgJob tends to follow the MT more closely in its representation of the *waw* than does the Peshitta of Job.

gum.⁸⁶⁹ At 21:25, for example, both versions fail to represent the *waw* which appears at the beginning of the verse in the MT:

וְזֶה יָמוּת בְּנֶפֶשׁ מָרָה וְלֹא־אָכַל בְּטוֹבָה: 21:25
 11Q10 () דִּין יָמוּת בְּנֶפֶשׁ [שׁ] ... | [.....] אָכַל
 RtgJob (ו) דִּין יָמוּת בְּנֶפֶשׁ מָרָה וְלֹא אָכַל בְּטוֹבָה:
 P-Job () מָה נֶחֱמָה בְּנֶפֶשׁ מָרָה וְלֹא אָכַל בְּטוֹבָה.

And this {one} dieth with a bitter soul, And have not eaten with gladness. YLT

() Another dies in bitterness of soul, never having tasted of good. RSV⁸⁷⁰

Verses 23-25 of chapter 21 come at the end of a sustained argument offered by Job: divine justice which allows the wicked to live long and prosper while deferring their punishment to their children is no justice at all. Verse 23 and 24 describe the demise of the prosperous evildoer ('One dies in full prosperity, being wholly at ease and secure...etc') while verse 25 brings home the full force of Job's complaint. One commentator has suggested that the translator of 11Q10 may have omitted the *waw* before the demonstrative due to the Qumran translator's preceding omission of v.23.⁸⁷¹ However, P-Job's similar omission of the conjunction here suggests that it is more likely that the *waw* has been considered stylistically unnecessary by the Qumran translator irrespective of the presence or absence of verse 23 in the Qumran version.⁸⁷² Again at 21:4, neither the

⁸⁶⁹ At 34:29, both 11Q10 and P-Job lack the conjunction where it occurs in MT before an apodosis (MT: וְיִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה פָנָיו וְיִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה) and also omit a subsequent occurrence of the *waw* in this verse. As we have seen above (B2) this treatment of the conjunction before an apodosis has already been documented in P-Job. English translations such as ASV, NIV, RSV and NRSV also omit this conjunction in their renderings of the Hebrew text.

⁸⁷⁰ The conjunction is however preserved by revisions of the KJV up to, and including, the ASV.

⁸⁷¹ B.E. Zuckerman, *The Process of Translation*, 197 notes that were a rendering of verse 23 indeed missing from 11Q10, there would be no need for 'a contrasting conjunction at the beginning of the latter verse [i.e., 25]'. P-Job however does not appear to require the conjunction, despite maintaining vv 23-25.

⁸⁷² H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 121 notes that 'often in [P-Job] where both stichs of a verse begin with the *waw* conjunctive, the second will almost universally be preserved—indicating that the translator viewed it as an immediate continuation of the previous stich—but the first *waw* will only be preserved if that verse begins a new topical unit or if the entire verse is a direct continuation of the previous one.'

however, are the instances where both the Qumran and Syriac translators appear to have felt the need to supply the *waw* conjunction medially in verses—primarily between successive stichs in a single verse. This shared response to a perceived lack of explicit conjunction in MT is illustrated by Job 33:11:

33:11 יְשֹׁם בַּסֵּד רַגְלָי () יִשְׁמֹר כָּל-אַחֲזֵתַי:

11Q10 [...] שׁוֹא בַסְדָּא רַגְלֵי (ו) סַכְר כ[ל] ...]

RtgJob יִשׁוּי בִשְׁיַע רַגְלָי () יִנְטֵר כָּל שְׁבִילַי:

P-Job חַסְבָּ כַּסְדָּא רַגְלָי (א) נְטָא כַּלְמָא אַחֲזֵתַי.

He doth put in the stocks my feet, () He doth watch all my paths. YLT

...he puts my feet in the stocks, and watches all my paths. RSV

While English versions such as YLT (and AV, ASV and NIV etc.) do not diverge from the MT in their translations of this verse, the revisers of the RSV and NRSV illustrate that the Aramaic translators are not alone in providing the *waw* in order to conjoin two functionally synonymous stichs which in the Hebrew are left merely apposed.⁸⁷⁴ In fact at more than a dozen other locations both the Qumran and Syriac translators provide the conjunction at the same place vis-à-vis the Masoretic Text.⁸⁷⁵ When combined with the initial pluses discussed above, these shared medial additions would seem to constitute a rather substantial agreement of approach between the Qumran and Peshitta translators.

⁸⁷⁴ Both 11Q10 and P-Job diverge from the MT in not preserving an imperfect in their Aramaic/Syriac translations. The translator of 11Q10 however—in his translation of MT יִשְׁמֹר, ‘he kept, guarded, observed, restrained etc’—provides a more specific rendering וְסַכְר ‘he blocked’ under the influence of the semantic environment (feet withheld in stocks) in order to smooth out a rare Hebrew construction. For more extensive discussion regarding the renderings in the respective versions see F. Martinez *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 11*, 130. For P-Job particularly see H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 182-83.

⁸⁷⁵ See 33:9, 25; 36:25, 26, 27; 38:24; 39:7, 21, 25, 26; 40:8, 30; 41:26. At 37:14, both 11Q10 and P-Job show a medial addition of the conjunction which reflects an uncertainty about the precise division of the verse into stichs.

B4. c) Substitution

Substitutions shared exclusively by 11Q10 and P-Job also occur, but with less frequency than common additions and their analysis is often less clear-cut. One instance of such a common substitution appears in the Qumran and Syriac versions of Job 29:12:

29:12 כִּי-אֶמְלֹט עֲנִי מְשׁוּעַ וַיְתּוֹם וְלֹא-עֲזָר לִי:

11Q10 [א...] רַו אַנְה שִׁי*זַבַּת לַעֲנָא מִן [ד...] xiv, 7 [ר]... לֹא עֲדַר לַה*וּן

RtgJob אַרוֹם אֲשַׁתְּזִיב עֲנִיא דְּבַעִי וַיְתָם (ו) לֹא סַעִיד לִיָּה:

P-Job ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܡܠܐ ܠܡܨܬܐ ܡܢ ܥܢܝܐ ܕܡܫܘܥܐ ܕܠܐ ܥܙܪܐ ܠܝܐܝܬܐ.

For I deliver the afflicted who is crying, And the fatherless who hath no helper. YLT

because I delivered the poor who cried, and the fatherless who had none to help him. RSV

We have seen in the previous chapter that the Syriac version departs from the word order of the Hebrew in the final portion of its rendering of Job 29:12

(ܠܐ ܥܕܪ ܠܐܝܬܐ). While the treatment of the conjunction is our concern here rather than the translators' word order preference, our attention is again focused on the latter half of the verse. As mentioned in our previous discussion of this passage, it is debatable whether the Qumran Aramaic translator has intended לֹא עֲדַר לַה*וּן as a verbal clause or a nominal one (participle-as-substantive).⁸⁷⁶ However, the various commentators have understood the Qumran translator's intention with regard to the last clause, it is widely agreed that the relative pronoun ׀[ד] should be reconstructed at the beginning of the clause.⁸⁷⁷ While the targum translator follows the Hebrew in preserving a *waw* conjunction, it is quite clear that the Syriac translator has also provided the relative pro-

⁸⁷⁶ For עֲדַר see discussion of 29:12 (chapter 7).

⁸⁷⁷ F. Martinez *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 11*, 113; B.E. Zuckerman, *The Process of Translation*, 471; M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 54.

noun (א). While Zuckerman is right to acknowledge the possibility Qumran and Syriac translators' provision of the relative may reflect their common use of a *Vorlage* which already lacked the conjunction, he also seems to be correct in favouring a simpler explanation of this agreement. It seems quite likely that both translators have recognised the subordinating function of the *waw* at this point and supplied the appropriate Aramaic relativising particle as a means of producing a more idiomatic translation.⁸⁷⁸ The Qumran translator's rendering of מִסְפָּר שְׁנָיו וְלֹא חֲקָר with מְנִין שְׁנוֹהֵי דִּי-לֹא סוּף at 36:26 shows that he was quite willing and able to provide the Aramaic relative in place of the *waw* when it would facilitate a more intelligible rendering of the Hebrew.⁸⁷⁹

At 21:7 both translators provide a *waw* in place of the Hebrew גַּם:

21:7 מְדַוֵּעַ רְשָׁעִים יַחֲיוּ עֲתִקּוּ (גַּם) -גָּבְרוּ חֵיל:

11Q10 iv, 6 [...] (ו)הסגיו נכסין

RtgJob מה דין רשיעיא ייחון אתקיפו (לחוד) קנו נכסין:

P-Job מַלְא מַחַד זָמַח שִׁבְי. (א)חַמַּח חַבְדָּ, סַלָּ.

Why do the wicked *still* live, Continue on, also become very powerful? NAS

Why do the wicked live, reach old age, and grow mighty in power? RSV

While both the targumist and the English translator of the NAS provide their standard formal equivalents (לחוד, 'also') of the Hebrew particle גַּם, 11Q10 and P-Job prefer instead to restructure the second half of verse 7 through the use of a conjunction (in P-Job before the preceding verbal form חַמַּח 'grow old'). Although capable of serving in different capacities, this Hebrew particle here appears to function as little more than a

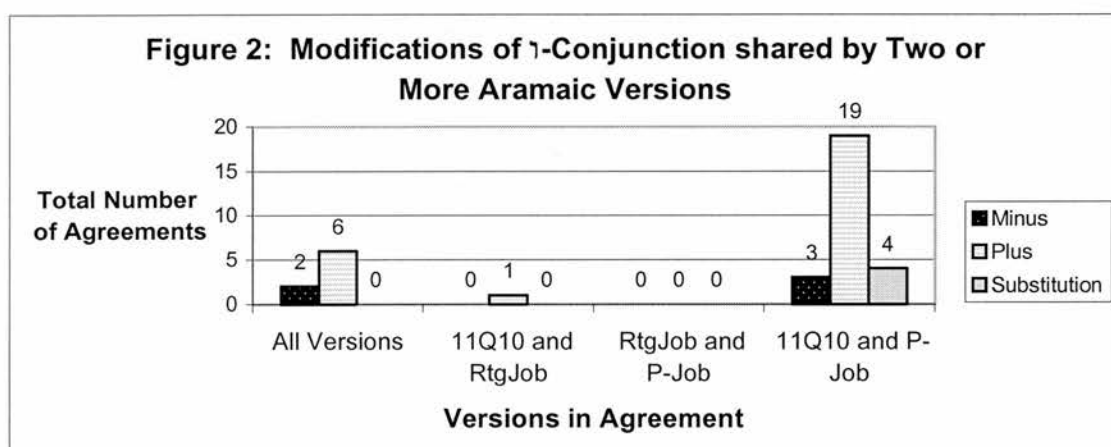
⁸⁷⁸ For *waw* relative see B. Waltke and M. O'Connor, *Hebrew Syntax*, § 38.1.

⁸⁷⁹ For further discussion of parallels in other ancient versions see B.E. Zuckerman, *The Process of Translation*, 506-7. Both Qumran (רַבְרִין דִּי-לֹא סוּף) and Syriac (ܠܥܕܐ ܕܝܠܐ ܣܘܦ) translators provide the relative (וְ/רַ) in translating 34:24 (וְיָרַע פְּבִירִים לֹא-חֲקָר).

co-ordinator and it is hardly surprising that it has also been rendered as such by the English translators of the RSV.⁸⁸⁰ The fact that both Aramaic translators have performed the same substitution here (*waw* for וַ) is evidence that both Qumran and Peshitta translators have understood the nuance of the Hebrew and provided the *waw* conjunction as a means of rendering the source text into an idiomatically acceptable form of Aramaic. Other shared substitutions are prompted by an interest in the idiomatic Aramaic rendering of exclamatory particles⁸⁸¹ and indicators of alternation.⁸⁸²

B5. Summary of *waw* modifications common to two or more Aramaic versions

What light does the preceding analysis shed on the question of how the various Aramaic versions relate to each other in terms of their treatment of this conjunction?



While all three Aramaic versions do, on rare occasion, modify their source text in the same manner at the same location, the number of such occurrences is comparatively low.

⁸⁸⁰ B. Waltke and M. O'Connor, *Hebrew Syntax*, § 39.3.4a Example #12 (Isa 14:7-8). The other major Hebrew adverbial co-ordinator, וְ may also function purely as a co-ordinator (Isaiah 41:10).

⁸⁸¹ 36:30.

⁸⁸² Both translators provide *waw* for Hebrew וְ at 39:10 where it introduces an alternative following an interrogative. While both translators deviate from MT in marking alternatives at 40:9 and 40:25, the manner in which they do so is not strictly speaking identical and therefore although they are obviously responding to the same 'problem' in the Hebrew, they are not included in the total for this category.

The pair of shared omissions (B1a) appear to reflect, in the case of the first, a shared concern for a linguistically intelligible translation, and in the second instance, a common response to a difficult Hebrew text. The handful of shared pluses (B1b) occur under a specific set of circumstances (*positive clause + negative clause*) in the source text. In these cases, the priority of fidelity to the formal features of the MT so readily apparent in RtgJob has been overridden by the demands of a linguistically intelligible Aramaic rendering. While the modifications shared by all three Aramaic versions are not terribly numerous, they do indicate a basic level of perception amongst the translators that, despite the overlapping constraints in the use of *waw* in Hebrew and Aramaic texts, the rendering of the former into the latter does necessitate some adjustments. Although this common concern for Aramaic idiom has resulted in some omissions, the main consequence of this shared linguistic-stylistic perception has been the supplementation of the source text through the addition of *waw*.

Given that, apart from the examples shared with 11Q10 and P-Job, the targum shows little signs of supplying *waw* when actually rendering the Hebrew text, it is not surprising that the single instance of a plus being shared by the Aramaic translation from Qumran and the targum (11Q10 and RtgJob) is found where both translators are incorporating supplementary material or doublets into their translations. Neither is this single shared plus unexpected when we remember that these two translators presented more unique instances of this use of the conjunction than did the Syriac translator (A4). In terms of assessing the respective translators' attitudes toward the Hebrew text they were rendering, it is important to note that while the Qumran translation shows occasional 'integrative' use of *waw* alongside its primarily 'translational' use of *waw* which also predominates in the Syriac version, the targumist is seemingly steadfast in almost entirely restricting the addition of the *waw* to integrative use.

The lack of a single agreement between the Syriac translation of Job and the Rabbinic targum of Job suggests that except in the extremely isolated cases discussed above, the Rabbinic and Syriac translators have little in common in their treatment of the *waw* conjunction in Job. By contrast, however, the Qumran translation and the Peshitta

of Job show a significant number of shared modifications. While the number of common omissions (3) and substitutions (3) are significant in the light of the other relationships shown in Figure 2, it is the shared pluses which constitute by far the single largest category (19). In fact, a comparison of Figures 1 and 2 show that, of the total number of *waw* additions made by the Qumran translator, more are shared with the Peshitta of Job than are unique to 11Q10.⁸⁸³

As with the comparison of the unique treatment of *waw*, an analysis of the Aramaic versions shared treatment of the conjunction strongly suggests that it is the Qumran and Syriac translators who line up together in their willingness to omit, substitute and, most frequently, add the *waw* conjunction in order to produce an idiomatic Aramaic rendering of the Hebrew.⁸⁸⁴ The Rabbinic targum of Job by contrast shows a quite extraordinary fidelity to the Masoretic text in its representation of the *waw*. The restriction of RtgJob's addition of the conjunction to what might be called 'non-translational' passages, when coupled with the almost complete lack of substitutions and omissions of the *waw* leads to the inevitable conclusion that it is particularly scrupulous in its representation of the minutiae of the Hebrew text.

Before concluding this assessment of the Aramaic versions' treatment of the *waw*, we would do well to first consider a methodological question which has been touched on in previous chapters, but postponed in the present discussion until now.⁸⁸⁵ It will have been noted that the foregoing discussion has continued to alternate indiscriminately between two sets of terminology in describing the network of relationships between the respective Aramaic versions and their putative Hebrew *Vorlagen*. It is obvi-

⁸⁸³ The combined totals of Figures 1 and 2 are as follows: Minus: 11Q10-17, P-Job-12, RtgJob-5; Plus: 11Q10-44, P-Job-50, RtgJob-13; Substitution: 11Q10-7, P-Job-13, RtgJob-0. The figures for RtgJob (both plus and minus) should be understood in the light of the discussion of Figures 1 and 2.

⁸⁸⁴ Although the doctoral work of P.J. Williams was unfortunately not yet available for consultation at the time of writing, an abstract of the dissertation (P.J. Williams 'Studies in the Syntax of the Peshitta of 1 Kings' [diss. Abstract] *Tyndale Bulletin* 49.1 (1998) 183-186) suggests that, as in P-Job, the Syriac translator of 1 Kings adds (more frequently) and omits (less frequently) the *waw* as a means of producing an idiomatic rendering. It is anticipated that his study, being devoted specifically to syntactic issues, will give a more nuanced account of the Syriac translator's use of *waw* than may be provided here.

⁸⁸⁵ See 'Vorlage' (Introduction).

ous that theoretically neutral terms such as 'plus' and 'minus' need not necessarily reflect the translator's activity suggested by 'addition' and 'omission'. To unpack this statement and rephrase it in the form of a question: what is the likelihood that it is the respective *Vorlagen* which are largely to blame for the Qumran and Syriac translator's common divergence from the MT?⁸⁸⁶ Is a recent commentator correct when he suggests that it is impossible to determine whether the omission of the *waw* has any text critical significance?⁸⁸⁷ It is hoped that the material provided thus far has shown that we have grounds for a slightly more optimistic view of the situation. It seems evident that the similarities in the divergence of 11Q10 and P-Job from MT in terms of the minus and plus of *waw* stem primarily from translator intervention. For methodological reasons, however, consideration must be given to the question of whether or not the strong affinity between P-Job and 11Q10 over and against RtgJob with regard to the *waw* is the result, not of common linguistic/stylistic constraints but rather of a largely similar Hebrew *Vorlage*. Notwithstanding scholarly reservations regarding the utility and significance of the variants preserved in the Kennicott and De Rossi collections,⁸⁸⁸ the 18th century collations do apparently provide ample evidence of the lack of uniformity in the transmission history of the text. And interestingly, it is the modifications which are shared by all three Aramaic versions (e.g. addition before negative phrases: 32:13, 15, 16; omission of *waw* at 36:26) which are also supported by the Hebrew MSS.⁸⁸⁹ Other parallels such as P-Job's double omission of the conjunction between simple verbal phrases at 38:3 (MS Ken. 196) do occur, but whereas the Syriac translator is quite consistent in omitting the conjunction in similar linguistic contexts (40:7, 11 and

⁸⁸⁶ Apart from a single instance (see above e.g. RtgJob 40:10) in which it is quite possible that the modification of the *waw* stems from a copyist's error (i.e., during the history of the Aramaic text), the present study finds no evidence that the divergent treatment of the *waw* has resulted from errors or alterations made during the copying of the present Aramaic texts from previous Aramaic *Vorlagen*. Therefore the use of *Vorlage* is restricted to the putative Hebrew texts which lay before the respective translators.

⁸⁸⁷ B.E. Zuckerman, *The Process of Translation*, 351. It should be noted that this conclusion might well have been altered had Zuckerman's exhaustive treatment of the Qumran 'targum' been extended beyond the first 15 columns.

⁸⁸⁸ See, for instance, E. Würthwein, *The Text of the Old Testament* [2nd ed.] (1995) 40-41.

⁸⁸⁹ Ken. 18, 80, 166 *et al.* also supply the *waw*; of these only MS 18 also omits at 36:26.

42:4) the Hebrew MSS show no similarly systematic deviation from the MT. In general then, the sporadic nature of the parallels in the medieval Hebrew MSS provides a stark contrast to the more extensive, systemic agreements found in 11Q10 and P-Job. Furthermore, the fact that substitutions of *waw* seem to lack parallels in the Hebrew MSS would seem to establish beyond a reasonable doubt that it is the translators' flexibility with regard to the representation of the conjunction which is responsible for their deviations from the MT.⁸⁹⁰

⁸⁹⁰ These substitutions, as we have seen, take two forms: 1) Aramaic 'x' for Heb. *waw* and Aramaic *waw*

CONCLUSIONS

11Q10 as an Aramaic Version of Job

The Representation of the Hebrew text in the Aramaic versions of Job

Having devoted considerable space to an exploration of the Aramaic versions' representation of their Hebrew source text on the basis of three indices, we are perhaps now in a position to unpack some of the implications of this investigation. In terms of the respective translations' willingness to omit source text elements in their renderings, we have seen evidence to suggest that the Aramaic versions divide along fairly well defined lines, with the Qumran and Syriac texts lining up together on one hand and the targum on the other.⁸⁹¹ The Qumran and Syriac translations showed a shared tendency to pass by, or omit elements in their Hebrew source text for a variety of reasons ranging from perceived source text irregularity and prior modification within the translation to, most prominently, a perception of the linguistic-stylistic redundancy of certain source text elements. In terms of breaking down this linguistic-stylistic category into constituent parts, we saw that in the Qumran and Syriac versions, elements are apparently omitted because they are perceived by the translators as either not required, i.e. constrained stylistically-poetically or not permitted, i.e. constrained linguistically, by the form of Aramaic into which the translation was made. While it is sometimes the case that a modification is broadly linguistic/stylistic in nature, we must on some occasions be satisfied with locating a given adaptation somewhere on a continuum between the stylistic

for Heb. 'x'.

and the linguistic. In stark contrast to the situation which obtained in 11Q10 and P-Job, the targum translation displays virtually no evidence of the omission of source text elements. While there is no sign in the *targum* translation of any propensity toward the omission of a given element as a result of its perceived redundancy, it should be emphasised that this is not the same as saying that the targumist does not perceive redundancy in the text.⁸⁹² Rather, it can only be concluded that on those occasions when a redundancy is felt to be present in the Hebrew text, it is not grounds for omission by the targumist but instead, often gives rise to expansion or elaboration which find parallels in other Rabbinic texts.⁸⁹³

While it is worth noting that the omissions which were recorded in RtgJob seemed to have been implemented as a means of avoiding cases of acute ambiguity, the number of omissions furnished by RtgJob was seen to be insignificant in purely statistical terms when compared with the Qumran and Syriac versions.⁸⁹⁴

A similar situation obtained when we turned to the subject of transposition.⁸⁹⁵ While certain cases of larger textual dislocation in 11Q10 and P-Job were seen to be possible candidates for attribution to underlying textual variation, the vast majority of transpositions found in the Syriac and Qumran versions of Job were seen not to be related to putative deviations in the *Vorlagen*, but rather stemmed from the respective translators' intervention. With respect to this intervention, prior modification and the perception of an irregular or difficult source text were again seen as occasional motiva-

⁸⁹¹ See chapter 5.

⁸⁹² R. Weiss, התרגום הארמי לספר איוב, 233-34 provides a list of redundancies perceived by the targumist in the Hebrew of Job: 3:26, 4:7,11; 5:10, 14:18, 22; 15:10; 22:19; 25:6; 37:6; 38:23.

⁸⁹³ R. Weiss, התרגום הארמי לספר איוב, 233; For midrashic parallels to some of these verses see the appropriate notes *ad loc.* in C. Mangan, *The Targum of Job*.

⁸⁹⁴ This fits well with R.P. Gordon's perspective on omission ('The Syriac Old Testament: Provenance, Perspective and Translation Technique' in *The Interpretation of the Bible* [ed. J. Krashovec] Sheffield Academic Press: Sheffield, 1998 355-70) as differentiating targumic and peshitta approaches to translation: '...while [omission] may be typical of the Peshitta translation method, it is not so with the targums generally... they offer some attempt at translation or at least transliteration, so that nothing is left unrepresented.' (364).

⁸⁹⁵ See Chapter 10.

tions, but a more significant contributing factor was the tendency to harmonise the word order within the immediate or more distant textual proximity. When we look at the motivating factors which have led to transposition in the Aramaic versions, we see that the targum translator only deviates from the word order of the Hebrew text for the purposes of harmonisation or in order to clarify what seems to have been perceived as an ambiguous text. The Qumran and Syriac translators also employ transposition for these same purposes and in fact do so no less frequently. It is at this point, however, that the Qumran and Syriac translations part company from the targum, for both of the former translations display a willingness to depart from the word order of the Hebrew in order to create an intelligible translation in the light of previous modifications. While this concern for linguistic-stylistic intelligibility leads to a wide range of transpositions in the Qumran and Syriac versions, the targum translator apparently feels that divergence from the word order of the Hebrew is, for whatever reason, unwarranted. This translator's lack of deviation from the Hebrew suggests that either he deemed divergence to be linguistically and stylistically unnecessary or, alternatively, that these deviations would indeed have been natural in his Aramaic idiom, but have been ruled out by a philosophy of translation which bound him to the order of the Hebrew text he was translating. Clear examples of the Qumran and Syriac translators' shared willingness to diverge from the Hebrew word order in an attempt to provide what they perceived to be more idiomatic Aramaic raises a further question. Given that both these translators display precisely this same concern in their treatment of certain texts, why do the Qumran and Syriac translators not always agree in employing transposition? It is at this point that the true nature of stylistic preference is made clear. Because idiomatic Aramaic permits a range of word orders, it should not be surprising if on one occasion, a translator follows the Hebrew word order, while on another, he chooses to rearrange these elements in translation. The obscurity of the Syriac and Qumran translators' decisions to deviate from the Hebrew word order in certain passages, but not in others, should not, however, be allowed to obscure the fact that whereas the targum translator makes virtually no use of transposition, his counterparts in the Qumran and Syriac translation traditions display a

clear willingness to diverge from the Hebrew word order as and when linguistic and stylistic constraints dictate.

In terms of quantitative assessment, the broad outlines of the relationship between the versions will by this point be clear. When the number of unique and shared instances of transposition found in the Qumran and Syriac versions are combined, the former version shows more than thirty cases while P-Job boasts more than forty.⁸⁹⁶ When we remember that the targum translation shows only two instances of transposition, neither of which are shared with the other two versions, it is not difficult to see the emergence of a clear distinction between the three versions in terms of their employment of transposition. Again, as was the case in our exploration of omission in the Aramaic version of Job, we are left with the impression that in both qualitative and quantitative terms, the Syriac and Qumran versions display a considerable affinity to one another in terms of their divergence from the word order of the Hebrew text of Job. In the case of the targum translation, however, such divergence is so rarely found that transposition cannot be considered a *bona fide* tool of the targumist responsible for RtgJob's rendering of the Hebrew text.⁸⁹⁷

The final index by which we may assess the Aramaic translators' perception and treatment of their Hebrew source text is their representation and use of the *waw* conjunction.⁸⁹⁸ As we saw in the preceding chapter, it is the Qumran and Syriac versions, and not the targum which seem to share the most ground in terms of their treatment of *waw*. While it is no surprise then that the modifications shared by all three Aramaic versions are not terribly numerous, those which do exist suggest a basic level of perception amongst the translators that despite the overlapping constraints in the use of *waw* in Hebrew and Aramaic, the rendering of Hebrew into Aramaic does necessitate some adjust-

⁸⁹⁶ In the case of the Qumran translation, this figure includes some instances of transposition in fragmentary contexts. P-Job: 35 instances; 11Q10: 21; Both 11Q10 and P-Job: 11.

⁸⁹⁷ For the importance of segmentation and word order as criteria for assessing literalism in a translation see J. Barr, *The Typology of Literalism in ancient biblical translation*. MSU 15 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht) and S.P. Brock, 'Aspects of Translation Technique in Antiquity' *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 20 (1979) 81-84.

ments. Although this common concern for Aramaic idiom has resulted in some omissions, the main consequence of this shared linguistic-stylistic perception has been the supplementation of the source text through the addition of *waw*. A rare instance of overlap between the concerns of the Qumran and Rabbinic translators was suggested by their willingness to deploy *waw* as a means of integrating supplementary material into the translation. In terms of assessing the respective translators' attitudes toward the Hebrew text they were rendering, however, it is important to note that while the Qumran translation shows occasional 'integrative' use of *waw* alongside its primarily 'translational' use of the conjunction (which, as we have seen, also predominates in the Syriac version) the targumist is seemingly steadfast in restricting his addition of the *waw* to the fulfilment of this integrative function. This analysis of the Aramaic versions' treatment of the conjunction strongly suggests that it is the Qumran and Syriac translators who line up together in their willingness to omit, substitute, and most frequently, add the conjunction in order to produce an idiomatic Aramaic rendering of the Hebrew. The Rabbinic targum of Job by contrast shows a remarkable fidelity to the Masoretic text in its representation of the *waw*. The restriction of RtgJob's addition of the conjunction to what might be called 'non-translational' passages, when coupled with the almost complete lack of substitutions and omissions of the *waw*, suggests that the targumist responsible for RtgJob displays a concern for reproducing the minutiae of his Hebrew source text which is not evident in the translators responsible for the Qumran and Syriac versions of Job.

In terms of their overall representation of the Hebrew text, the distinction between the Qumran and Syriac translations, on one hand, and the targum, on the other, are quite clear. The former renderings present a large number of systematic agreements in terms of omitting, and transposing elements of the source text, and in terms of their representation (including *zero* representation) of the *waw* conjunction. RtgJob, on the other hand, shows a scrupulous preservation of source text elements and a similar retention of the word order of the Hebrew text in its reconstituted Aramaic version. While these

⁸⁹⁸ See chapter 11.

conclusions constitute a significant step toward meeting the *desiderata* set forth in the introduction, it may be useful to unpack some of the implications of these conclusions for 11Q10's classification and its significance in the study of the ancient Aramaic versions generally.

A Question of Vorlage

While the material presented thus far is perhaps quite suggestive, the mere fact that the Syriac and Qumran versions often agree in diverging from the MT in the same manner and often in the same textual location (whereas RtgJob more closely represents the Hebrew) does not of course adequately explain the cause of this agreement. As we saw, there is a possibility and indeed a likelihood that both Qumran and Syriac versions may, at a few points, be reliant on textual traditions which are not *identical* with the tradition preserved in the MT. When seen in the light of the increasing recognition of textual pluriformity in the Hebrew Bible during the Second Temple Period, this observation demands that we give consideration to the possibility that the common (and common types of) divergences attested in 11Q10 and P-Job derive not from their translators' shared linguistic-stylistic preferences but rather a similar type of Hebrew *Vorlage*.⁸⁹⁹ While we saw in the preceding chapter that the medieval Hebrew MSS (Kennicott, DeRossi etc.) could not adequately explain the Qumran and Syriac versions' shared attitude toward the *waw* conjunction, we did see that the Hebrew texts of Job found in Qumran cave 4 are not only of demonstrable antiquity and relevance, but also provide at least one parallel to the kind of adjustments found in both 11Q10 and P-Job.⁹⁰⁰ On the basis of this observation, it might reasonably be suggested that all or many of the common linguistic-stylistic divergences found in these latter two versions were already to be

⁸⁹⁹ While his discussion pertains to *peshet* rather than translation proper, E. Tov, 'The Significance of the Texts from the Judaean Desert for the History of the Text of the Hebrew Bible: A New Synthesis', in *Qumran Between the Old and New Testaments* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998) 282-283 provides a useful outline of maximalist and minimalist positions on the issue of textual diversity underlying an interpretative text.

⁹⁰⁰ See chapter 9 (31:15).

found in their respective *Vorlagen* and then simply imported by their translators into these two Aramaic versions. Were this to be the case, we would have in fact discovered very little regarding the respective Aramaic translators' attitudes toward their Hebrew source text for the Syriac and Qumran translators would, according to this hypothesis, have been no less faithful in their representation of their Hebrew *Vorlage* than their targumic counterpart. In fact a possible precedent for Aramaic versions' reliance on a so-called 'vulgar' or 'vernacular' version seems to have been provided by the Qumran texts themselves in the form of the great Isaiah scroll (1QIs^a). Already in the 1950's, no less an authority than M.H. Goshen-Gottstein was of the opinion that the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Syriac version of Isaiah differed from the Hebrew text of the MT not because of the translator's wayward tendencies, but because it was dependent on a text not dissimilar to the great scroll of Isaiah from Qumran.⁹⁰¹ Although Goshen-Gottstein's study was a useful first step, his comparison of 1QIs^a with the targumic and Syriac versions of Isaiah was to be eventually superseded by E.Y. Kutscher's magisterial work, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll*.⁹⁰² Unlike the approach of Goshen-Gottstein, Kutscher's broader aims did not allow him to focus in any systematic way on the overall relationship between the Isaiah scroll and the targumic and Syriac versions of Isaiah. However, his typical thoroughness in cataloguing parallels between these texts across a variety of categories affords an opportunity to briefly explore the implications of the marked agreement (in kind) between the Syriac and Qumran versions of Job on one hand, and the striking difference between these two versions and the targum of Job on the other.

As part of his study of 1QIs^a, Kutscher catalogues instances where the Isaiah Scroll lacks words which are present in the MT.⁹⁰³ He finds that of the 100 cases where

⁹⁰¹ M.H. Goshen-Gottstein, 'Die Jesaia-Rolle im Lichte von Peschitta und Targum' *Biblica* 35 (1954) 51-71 (esp. 51-53).

⁹⁰² E.Y. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll*, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974); See also E. Qimron, *The language and linguistic background of the Isaiah Scroll (1 Q Isa)* / [by] E.Y. Kutscher; by Elisha Qimron; introduction by Shelomo Morag : indices and corrections. (Leiden : E.J. Brill, 1979).

⁹⁰³ E.Y. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll*, 547-555.

an element of the MT is not found in the Isaiah Scroll, the Syriac version of Isaiah also lacks an element twelve times. While an agreement of 12% between P-Isaiah and a vernacular Hebrew text does not appear overly large, the 2% agreement Kutscher found between the Targum of Isaiah and the latter does cast the Syriac-1QIs^a total in a rather different light.⁹⁰⁴ The 12% agreement between the Syriac version and 1QIs^a did not evoke Kutscher's comment, but it is interesting to note that he saw 'the reading in the Scroll... often paralleled by the Targum...' despite the fact that the Targum's agreement rate with the vernacular Isaiah text stood at only 2%!⁹⁰⁵ In light of the Syriac version's far higher correspondence rate, the Targum's 2% does seem comparatively negligible, but Kutscher casts even this correlation into doubt by reminding his readers that even in these parallels, there are always targum MSS which preserve the text found in the MT.⁹⁰⁶ While a judgement regarding the source of the correspondence between P-Isaiah and the vernacular Hebrew version is not necessarily possible at this point, it is at least clear that these two texts are far more likely to agree in omitting MT elements when compared with the Targum version of Isaiah whose preservation of MT is virtually complete.

Although there are comparatively few instances of transposition in 1QIs^a (17), nearly 30% (5) of these find a parallel in the Syriac version of Isaiah.⁹⁰⁷ When we turn to the Targum, however, we find that only a single word order deviation in the vernacular Hebrew scroll finds a correspondence in the Targum (6%).⁹⁰⁸ Furthermore, as was the case with omissions, even this solitary instance of correspondence between Tg-Isaiah and 1QIs^a is not unequivocal for again, some MS witnesses to the targum tradition retain the word order of the MT. Although the total number of cases does not constitute an

⁹⁰⁴ P-Isaiah = 1QIs^a 3:24, 5:27; 7:23; 8:9, 14:18, 24:4, 26:5, 6; 30:15; 35:8; 41:11, 52:6; TgIsaiah = 1QIs^a 14:19* 56:12*. Both Aramaic versions appear to treat 38:11 in a similar fashion, but its analysis is uncertain; (See E.Y. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll*, 551).

⁹⁰⁵ E.Y. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll*, 555.

⁹⁰⁶ E.Y. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll*, 555.

⁹⁰⁷ E.Y. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll*, 563-564. P-Isaiah = 1QIs^a 36:12; 37:1, 48:3; 49:25; 62:8.

⁹⁰⁸ E.Y. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll*, 564 (55:13).

ideal sample size, the picture conveyed by the correspondences again speaks quite clearly. The vernacular version of Isaiah found at Qumran displays numerous instances of word order divergence from the MT. While the Syriac version also diverges on almost a third of these occasions, the situation in the targum is once again quite different for it shows but one (inconsistently attested) parallel with the vernacular text, and instead follows the word order of the MT virtually without fail.

With respect to the treatment of the *waw* conjunction, Kutscher provides a list not only of instances of the copula's omission, but also its addition vis-à-vis the MT.⁹⁰⁹ In his investigation of the Isaiah Scroll, Kutscher found that on 70 occasions a *waw* which appears in the MT is not displayed by the vernacular text 1QIs^a.⁹¹⁰ Of these 70 minuses or omissions present in the Isaiah Scroll, 22 (31%) were paralleled in the Syriac version of Isaiah.⁹¹¹ This correspondence appears rather more striking when seen in the light of the 4 instances (6%) in which Targum Isaiah agrees with 1QIs^a. As is the case with respect to omission, the Syriac version is five times as likely as the Targum to agree with 1QIs^a in lacking the copula where it is present in MT. Here again, the Targum shows its fidelity to the MT in comparison to a Syriac version which frequently parallels the Isaiah scroll which has been updated to conform with a vernacular dialect of Hebrew.

Even more frequent are the instances in which the Hebrew vernacular scroll of Isaiah provides a *waw* copula which is not found in a corresponding location in the MT.⁹¹² Of the more than 200 cases found in 1QIs^a by Kutscher, only 10 find parallels in the Targum of Isaiah.⁹¹³ On the other hand, the Syriac version was found to agree with the vernacular Isaiah scroll in supplying the *waw* copula no less than 110 times when it does not appear in the corresponding location in the MT! Thus, while the Tar-

⁹⁰⁹ S.P. Brock, 'Text History and Text Division in P-Isaiah', 61-62 also suggests that P-Isaiah displays considerable fluidity in its representation of the *waw* in relation to the Hebrew.

⁹¹⁰ MT *waw*-1QIs^a Ø (E.Y. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll*, 425-427).

⁹¹¹ E.Y. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll*, 428-9.

⁹¹² E.Y. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll*, 414-24.

gum shows only a 5% agreement with 1QIs^a, the Syriac version's correspondence rate is more than ten times (55%) that of the Targum version. In fact, so sizeable (and apparently) suggestive is this correspondence between 1QIs^a and P-Isaiah, that Kutscher is at pains to point out that the parallel need not necessarily entail a direct relationship between the Hebrew scroll from Qumran and the Syriac version.⁹¹⁴

While certain *caveats* must be kept in mind regarding the use of Kutscher's work in this regard,⁹¹⁵ a relatively clear picture nevertheless emerges of some aspects of the respective relationships between the vernacular Hebrew version of Isaiah and its Syriac and Targum versions. In the case of omissions, transpositions and also with respect to the treatment of *waw*, the Syriac version of Isaiah displays a far greater affinity to the vernacular Hebrew text of Isaiah found at Qumran, whereas the Targum of Isaiah exemplifies in these respects, a far greater fidelity to a MT text which has not been adjusted to take account of the vernacular of the Hebrew copyist.⁹¹⁶

While the point of the above is not to 'prove' the dependence of P-Isaiah on 1QIs^a, it is meant to illustrate the basic plausibility of the theory that the Syriac version of Isaiah might be dependent upon a vernacular Hebrew version of Isaiah displaying

⁹¹³ E.Y. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll*, 424.

⁹¹⁴ Kutscher's questioning of the assumption of dependence is three-fold: 1) a lower (30%) rate of correspondence between the two texts with respect to the omission of the copula (see above). 2) The textual tradition of P-Isaiah itself displays considerable variation with respect to the addition of the copula. 3) **Kutscher notes that the Syriac translator of Isaiah is linguistically pre-disposed to supply the copula independently of the additions found in 1QIs^a** [emphasis mine].

⁹¹⁵ Like Szpek, Kutscher is unable to provide a full representation of the relationship between the Aramaic versions, focusing as he does on an analysis of the Qumran Isaiah scroll. Furthermore, while Kutscher was clearly aware of the importance of the respective textual traditions, he did not yet have at his disposal, either a critical edition or a systematic analysis of the text of P-Isaiah, both since provided by S.P. Brock (S.P. Brock, *The Old Testament in Syriac according to the Peshitta Version: Isaiah* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1987; idem., 'Text History and Text Division in Peshitta Isaiah' in P. Dirksen and M. Mulder (eds.) *The Peshitta: its Early text and History* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1989) 49-80). A thorough-going evaluation of the relationship between the Aramaic versions of Isaiah and the Qumran scroll will be possible when A. Houtman's work on the text of TgIsaiah reaches fruition. (See most recently, A. Houtman, 'Targum Isaiah according to Felix Pratensis' *JAB* 1 [2] (1999) 191-202).

⁹¹⁶ This conclusion corroborates that of A. van der Kooij, *Die Alten Textzeugen des Jesajabuches* OBO 35 (1981) 175: '...der Verfasser des Targ eine hebräische Vorlage benutzte, die im Wesentlichen mit MT (Ketib) identisch ist.'

similar adjustments to the one found at Qumran.⁹¹⁷ When we consider the nature of the fragments of Hebrew Job found at Qumran, it may be nothing more than a historical accident that more extensive vernacular versions of Job similar to 1QIs^a have not yet been found. In light of the rather striking parallels between the types of adjustments found in the Targum and Syriac versions of Isaiah on one hand, and the three Aramaic versions of Job on the other, we would do well to consider some of the possible implications for our study.

Clearly, on this ‘vernacular *Vorlage*’ hypothesis, RtgJob like Targum Isaiah will have been comparatively careful to preserve the Hebrew elements of Job in the order in which they appear in the MT. The Qumran and Syriac versions would on the other hand have been dependent not on MT-Job but rather on vernacular versions of Job in which a variety of adjustments had already been made under the influence of later Hebrew linguistic-stylistic preferences.

As Goshen-Gottstein’s early study clearly illustrates, the idea that correspondences between ‘vernacular’ Qumran MSS of portions of the Hebrew Bible and the Syriac versions might reasonably imply a dependence of the latter on non-MT texts is not a new one to scholars studying the Peshitta. R.P. Gordon, in responding to an essay by Y. Maori on distinguishing between variant *Vorlage* and exegesis in the Peshitta Pentateuch, places particular emphasis upon the testimony of Qumran texts such as 1QIs^a, 4QSam^a, 2QExod^a in identifying non-Massoretic readings in the ancient versions (including in this case the Syriac).⁹¹⁸ While it is important to remember that the Gordon-Maori dialogue is primarily concerned with *exegetical* variants (as opposed to non-*exegetical* variants such as we have examined in the present study) the likelihood of

⁹¹⁷ A. van der Kooij, *Die Alten Textzeugen des Jesajabuches*, 297 concludes that the Syriac translator treats his text in ways quite similar to the translators/scribes responsible for LXX Isaiah and 1QIs^a and as a result this scholar is reluctant to ascribe such features in P-Isaiah to a *Vorlage* of the type represented by the Qumran Scroll.

⁹¹⁸ R.P. Gordon, ‘Variant *Vorlagen* and the Exegetical Factor: Response to Y. Maori’, 121-125 (resp. to Y. Maori, ‘Methodological Criteria for Distinguishing between Variant *Vorlage* and Exegesis in the Peshitta Pentateuch’, 103-120 [rejoinder by same: 126-128]) all in P.B. Dirksen, A. van der Kooij (eds.) *Peshitta as a Translation* (Brill: 1995).

non-exegetical agreements between the versions being attributable to variant *Vorlagen* is equally if not more deserving of consideration.⁹¹⁹ Nevertheless with respect to the broader question of ‘*Vorlage* vs. translator’ as a means of explaining Peshitta divergences from MT, the recent paradigm shift toward seeing the gradual ‘Syriacisation’ of an originally more literal Peshitta translation is beginning to take on the appearance of a consensus.⁹²⁰ But the question which this consensus naturally prompts is, of course, how literal was this original translation?⁹²¹ Without presuming to suggest an answer here, it should be made clear that the ‘vernacular *Vorlage*’ interpretation of the phenomena uncovered in this study, while not necessarily calling into question the fidelity of the Syriac translators, would certainly complicate and contest the assumption that they worked from MT as opposed to a Hebrew source already displaying significant deviations from it.

With respect to the Qumran translation, the positing of a ‘vernacular *Vorlage*’ would likewise clearly entail a radical reassessment of the widespread consensus that the Qumran Aramaic translator was working from a largely MT-type text.⁹²² Instead, the Qumran Aramaic translator of Job will have made use of a text which may be like, but not necessarily identical with, 4QJob^a—that is, a vernacular Hebrew text which contained many if not all of the deviations from MT which have been documented in this study.

While we would not wish to overemphasise the similarities between the Qumran and Syriac versions, our study has documented substantial areas of overlap in terms of omission, transposition and the treatment of the *waw* conjunction. Were the ‘vernacular *Vorlage*’ hypothesis outlined above to be adopted, one implication not easily avoided

⁹¹⁹ Y. Maori, ‘Methodological Criteria’, 18.

⁹²⁰ For the most recent discussion of both corroboration and implication of his theory of textual development see M. Koster, ‘The Copernican Revolution’.

⁹²¹ See for instance the conclusion of S.P. Brock, ‘Text History and Text Division in Peshitta Isaiah’ 78 ‘...the early textual history of P-Isaiah evidently follows the pattern discerned by Koster and Hayman for books of the Pentateuch, with a gradual move away from the Hebrew towards a more idiomatic and fluent Syriac text (not, it should be emphasised, that P-Isaiah was, even in its original form, a very literal translation from the Hebrew).

⁹²² See introduction (*Vorlage*).

would be that the underlying similarities between the respective *Vorlagen* of the Qumran and Syriac versions would be little short of striking. In other words, while it would certainly not be accurate to suggest that the translators of the Qumran and Syriac texts had worked from the *same Vorlage*, the similarities found between these two versions in the areas of omission, transposition and the treatment of the conjunction, would certainly require the positing of respective *Vorlagen* which were not only significantly *different* from the MT, but also significantly and systematically different from MT in recognisably *similar* ways.

Indeed, M. Weitzman is well aware of the potential implications of vernacular Hebrew texts for the overall task of characterising the work of the Syriac translators of the Old Testament.⁹²³ But in considering the likelihood of the Syriac translators' extensive use of vernacular Hebrew texts, he demurs, arguing at a general level that ancient biblical translators would be most likely to seek out 'model' versions of the Hebrew Bible rather than working from vernacular texts. Furthermore, Weitzman suggests that the lack of such popular copies in the East (i.e. the presumed provenance of the Syriac version of the OT) is suggested by the lack of their mention in the Babylonian Talmud.⁹²⁴ In the first place, the demonstrated affinity between P-Job and 11Q10 and the latter version's assumed Palestinian provenance would seem to undermine Weitzman's second suggestion. In addition, the assumption that ancient Aramaic translators of Isaiah (or Job) would have necessarily possessed the requisite discrimination or textual resources to restrict themselves to pristine ('model') texts as opposed to those of the vernacular variety, is rather difficult to prove.⁹²⁵ Although these suggestions may be less than convincing, Weitzman's case for rejecting the 'vernacular *Vorlage*' hypothesis is, as is often

⁹²³ M.P. Weitzman, *The Syriac version of the Old Testament*, 55-57.

⁹²⁴ M.P. Weitzman, *The Syriac version of the Old Testament*, 55.

⁹²⁵ Weitzman (55) cites Josephus' description of the origin of LXX in which the High Priest sends a copy of the Hebrew text to be returned upon completion of the translation (*Antiq.* 12.2.6 [56]). Not only does Weitzman himself admit that this account of LXX origins is 'idealised', but even if it were to be considered accurate in certain detail, a Greek translation made in Egypt from a Hebrew text often at odds with the MT would seem to be a less than firm basis for positing the use of 'a model text' of the Hebrew Bible by Aramaic translators in Palestine and still less so in the East.

Aramaic linguistic-stylistic preferences generally, or either of these two particular Aramaic realisations of the Hebrew (i.e., 11Q10 and P-Job) would in this case constitute *bona fide* evidence of translator intervention.⁹²⁹

While certain identical modifications might possibly be attributed to common reliance on an already modified *Vorlage*, other modifications common to 11Q10 and P-Job such as that found at 40:6 (and reflected in 42:1) find their most reasonable explanation not in variant *Vorlagen*, but in the common linguistic-stylistic inheritance of Aramaic.⁹³⁰ In addition, both Qumran and Syriac versions display examples of both omission and transposition which are clearly related to and dependent on prior modifications, or adjustments which have been already made within their Aramaic translations.⁹³¹ It is not at all easy to see how such version-specific omissions and transpositions are to be explained on the basis of a 'vernacular *Vorlage*' hypothesis.

Furthermore, while one may find a surprising number of parallels between the types of adjustments found in the Qumran Aramaic/Syriac translations and vernacular Hebrew texts such as 1QIs^a, even a measure of Aramaic influence in these vernacular texts seems insufficient to account for the frequency and variety of adjustments which appear in these Aramaic versions. In her extensive cataloguing of adjustments in P-Job, Szpek begins with a list of departures which are 'characteristic of the Syriac language of the Peshitta'—that is, expected correspondences which '...should not be deemed as evi-

⁹²⁹Even this apparently clear principle of differentiation is not without its complications however. M.H. Goshen-Gottstein, 'Die Jesaia-Rolle', found in 1QIs^a certain deviations (including the appearance of 𐤇𐤍 at 36:11 [67 n.2] and an addition at 63:16 [70 n.3]) which suggested to him some form of Aramaic linguistic influence. Given Kutscher's particular expertise in Aramaic it was not surprising that he devoted considerable energy to an elucidation of the Aramaic influence on the vernacular (characterised by him as 'Aramaic-Hebrew') in which the Isaiah Scroll's version was produced (E.Y. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll*, 23-29; 187-215). While Kutscher discusses and copiously illustrates Aramaic influence in the areas of spelling, verbal substitutions, nominal pattern preference, pronouns and pronominal suffixes, prepositions and particles, neither omissions, nor transpositions nor the treatment of the *waw* are included in Kutscher's discussion of the Aramaic influence on the vernacular.

⁹³⁰See chapter 9.

⁹³¹See chapters 5 and 10 respectively.

dence of a different *Vorlage*...'.⁹³² Szpek includes the translator's freedom with regard to omission, transposition, and the treatment of the *waw* conjunction, amongst the numerous modifications which would be expected in any Syriac translation.⁹³³ Other translator adjustments found in P-Job are assessed by Szpek as being text specific, that is, modifications which have resulted from the unique demands of P-Job's specific realisation of the Hebrew text of Job, as opposed to universal linguistic-stylistic constraints of Syriac.⁹³⁴ Szpek's conclusions confirm that adjustments in areas such as omission, transposition and the treatment of the *waw* constitute only a portion of a far wider constellation of adjustments (including addition and substitution) which were normally implemented by Peshitta translators in order to render their Hebrew text into Syriac. In light of this, it is eminently reasonable to suggest that the Syriac text's deviation from MT with regards to omission, transposition and the treatment of the *waw*, may be explained quite adequately with reference to the Syriac translator's adaptation of the MT, rather than by positing a vernacular *Vorlage* which may explain some, but not all of the modifications present in the Syriac version of Job. The similarity between the adjustments seen in the Qumran and Syriac translations would seem to suggest that the linguistic-stylistic constraints of Aramaic, rather than shared vernacular *Vorlage*, are likely to be the most straightforward explanation for 11Q10's divergences from MT in these areas. In light of this, an assessment of the findings of the present study in the context of Szpek's initial and partial comparison of the Aramaic versions of Job will hopefully provide a broader perspective on the overall relationship between the respective Aramaic translations.

Szpek's search for signs of dependence of P-Job on the Qumran and targumic versions led her to examine grammatical adjustments in the versions.⁹³⁵ The most striking aspect of her findings is the initially surprising fact that when compared with the

⁹³² H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 260.

⁹³³ H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 260-63.

⁹³⁴ H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 263-66.

⁹³⁵ H.M. Szpek 'On the Influence of the Targum', 144.

targum, the Syriac version shows a far greater number of divergences from the MT across every one of the eight grammatical categories documented by Szpek.⁹³⁶ For instance, of the 300 times where the Syriac translation shows a linguistically expected adjustment of the Hebrew verbal tense (e.g. Hebrew imperfect > Syriac ptcp.⁹³⁷) only 20 (7%) are paralleled by RtgJob. Again, with respect to the addition and omission of pronouns, the Syriac version displays 154 adjustments while only 21 (14%) of these are found in the Rabbinic targum.⁹³⁸ While it must be remembered that Szpek's search for dependence caused her to begin with adjustments found in the Syriac version, and cite the Qumran and targum versions only when they agreed with a P-Job departure, it does seem basically clear from Szpek's analysis that the Syriac translator is far more willing to make a wide variety of grammatical adjustments in rendering the MT, than is the translator of RtgJob. But what of the Qumran translation? While the utility of Szpek's comparison of P-Job with 11Q10 and RtgJob is, as we have noted previously, somewhat limited by its methodological approach, her assessment of the Qumran Aramaic version's relationship to P-Job is further compromised for our purposes (albeit not her own) and requires reassessment.⁹³⁹ While a comprehensive analysis of grammatical modifications in the Aramaic versions is beyond the scope of the present study, an analysis of adjustments in the grammatical categories of 'person' and 'number' from a synoptic perspective may shed further light on the relationship between the Aramaic versions in this respect.

Within the synoptic sample preserved by all three Aramaic versions, the Syriac translator diverges from the MT in its representation of the inflectional category of 'per-

⁹³⁶ For complete picture see H.M. Szpek 'On the Influence of the Targum', 144 (Table 1).

⁹³⁷ For P-Job see H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 80 n.36.

⁹³⁸ Szpek examined the following types of pronouns: independent, relative, enclitic, copula function. For more detailed discussion of P-Job's adjustment of the pronoun see H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 74-78.

⁹³⁹ Perhaps because it was not deemed to be particularly crucial for her study, Szpek's total number of adjustments (i.e., congruencies with P-Job) found in 11Q10 does not appear to have been adjusted to take account of the fact that the Qumran version preserves only 15% of the total quantity of text preserved by RtgJob and P-Job.

son' (e.g. first, second or third) on a half-dozen occasions.⁹⁴⁰ The Qumran Aramaic version displays a similar number of divergences with regard to grammatical person (30:14, 32:13, 32:14, 32:15, 38:8, 39:3) and given the prevalence of harmonisation in 11Q10 and P-Job, it is perhaps not surprising that several of these adjustments are to be found in the same general vicinity. In fact, on one occasion both translators provide precisely the same adjustment of person (33:27). In contrast to the adjustments displayed by both the Qumran and Syriac versions, RtgJob shows no instances of modification of 'person' within the synoptic sample.⁹⁴¹

While the Aramaic versions of Job as a group show comparatively few instances of departure from the MT with respect to 'person', such is not the case when we turn to the grammatical category of 'number'.⁹⁴² In terms of divergences found uniquely in one Aramaic version, the Qumran and Syriac versions present 27 and 24 instances respectively where the grammatical number does not correspond to that of the MT.⁹⁴³ The targum version on the other hand presents only a handful of cases where it does not reproduce the number of the MT.⁹⁴⁴ As was the case with the Aramaic versions' treatment of the *waw* conjunction, the areas of overlap, that is, those adjustments which are found in two or more of the respective versions at the same location, enhance and confirm our existing understanding of the relationships between them. Once again the number of occasions where all three of the Aramaic versions diverge from the number attested in the MT, is rather low (4).⁹⁴⁵ This is quite understandable given that, as was the case

⁹⁴⁰ 23:1, 30:18, 31:8, 32:11, 34:9, 39:6 (The relevant parts of speech in a discussion of grammatical number are verbs, pronouns, and suffixes. Cf. See H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 70).

⁹⁴¹ This is hardly surprising given that H.M. Szpek 'On the Influence of the Targum', 144 finds only two of P-Job's 60 adjustments of 'person' to be paralleled in RtgJob.

⁹⁴² This agrees with the assessment of the situation provided by H.M. Szpek 'On the Influence of the Targum', 144 where we see that the Syriac version is more than four times as likely to modify 'number' (252) as it is to adjust 'person' (60).

⁹⁴³ 11Q10: 18:2, 19:19, 24:12, 26:11, 27:13, 28:21, 28:28, 29:7, 29:12, 30:18 (x2), 31:31, 32:10, 32:17, 33:15, 34:15, 34:30, 36:9, 36:10, 36:15, 38:9, 38:11, 38:27, 39:3, 40:27, 41:10, 41:15; P-Job: 24:14, 27:15, 27:16, 28:24, 28:26, 29:9, 30:15, 32:11, 33:9, 35:6, 36:7, 36:11, 36:25, 36:27, 37:11 (2x) 37:13, 37:15, 37:16, 38:6, 38:25, 38:29, 38:30, 39:1.

⁹⁴⁴ See 22:6, 36:12, 36:33, 37:12, 39:2, 40:12.

⁹⁴⁵ 30:17, 19, 35:10, 39:7.

with the treatment of *waw*, RtgJob presents few independent examples of divergence, and rarely agrees with either the Qumran (2) or Syriac (1) versions in deviating from the number of the MT.⁹⁴⁶ Again, however, when we turn to agreements between the Qumran and Syriac versions, we see that 11Q10 and P-Job both diverge from the number found in the MT on no less than 23 occasions.⁹⁴⁷ Of the total number of divergences from the MT in the Qumran and Syriac versions with respect to number, approximately half are made at the same juncture in their respective translations of the Hebrew text.

How does the above contribute to our understanding of how the respective Aramaic versions represent the form of the Hebrew text? Unlike omission and transposition, grammatical adjustments such as the modification of number and person do not often result in a loss or dislocation of the source text. Rather these modifications are effected in the translation by means of substituting one element in the Aramaic translation for another as a means of representing a corresponding Hebrew element (be it verbal, pronominal or suffix etc.) without actually omitting, transposing, or adding to the text being translated.⁹⁴⁸ In this sense substitution tells us comparatively little regarding the Aramaic versions' formal representation of the Hebrew text. However, while semantic substitutions are to be found in all three Aramaic versions, this sampling of grammatical adjustments in 11Q10, RtgJob and P-Job suggests that even where formal representation of the elements of the Hebrew is maintained, the Qumran and Syriac versions are more likely to diverge from the MT than is the targum, which preserves the grammatical landscape of the Hebrew it translates.⁹⁴⁹

If the Qumran and Syriac versions' divergence from, and the targum's fidelity to, the form of the Hebrew text seems to find a measure of corroboration in terms of the

⁹⁴⁶ (RtgJob and 11Q10) 37:17, 38:25 (RtgJob and P-Job) 39:7.

⁹⁴⁷ 18:2, 20:6, 21:3, 21:5,6, 23:4, 33:27, 34:28, 36:8, 36:11, 36:24 (2x) 36:25, 36:28, 37:11, 37:18, 38:10, 39:6, 39:10, 39:21, 40:11, 40:24, 41:13.

⁹⁴⁸ On substitution see H.M. Szpek, *Translation Technique*, 32-33.

⁹⁴⁹ The Aramaic versions, like any other translations, show an abundance of semantic substitutions. See H.M. Szpek 'On the Influence of the Targum', 145-9 where issues such as *faux amis*, cognates, and Syriac borrowing from W. Aramaic are explored with reference to the Aramaic versions of Job.

respective translations' use of grammatical substitution, what may be said regarding Szpek's assessment of addition in the Aramaic versions of Job? Szpek observes that P-Job shows a marked tendency to supply certain elements in its Syriac rendering which are implied, but left unexpressed in the Hebrew source text. Examples provided by Szpek show that such elements, implicit in the Hebrew, but explicitly supplied in the Syriac include relative pronouns, suffixes, prepositions, conditional particles and even words or short phrases.⁹⁵⁰ Noting that the targum, by contrast, shows a far greater reluctance to supply such elements in its Aramaic rendering of the Hebrew, Szpek concludes that unlike the Syriac version, the targum resorts to explicitly supplying grammatical elements merely implied by the Hebrew *only* when '...failure to do so would result in ambiguity or misunderstanding of the MT.'⁹⁵¹ In fact the present study supports the importance of ambiguity as a motivating factor in the targumist's divergence from the form and order of the MT. Of the very few cases of omission and transposition to be found in RtgJob, several appear to stem from the targumist's concern for avoiding what has clearly been perceived as potentially acute levels of ambiguity.⁹⁵² Whatever the possible causes of these differing attitudes toward the addition of implied elements, this much is clear for Szpek: in comparison with the Syriac version, the targumist is extremely reluctant to supply additional elements, such as suffixes, unnecessarily in its Aramaic translation of the MT, even when they have been perceived as implied by his counterpart in the Syriac tradition.

An examination of the respective Aramaic versions' addition of suffixes provides some perspective on where the Qumran version might line up with respect to the addition of implied elements. The Syriac version again leads the way with 25 instances of the addition of a suffix which is unattested both in the MT and in the other Aramaic versions at the same point in the text.⁹⁵³ While the Qumran version presents 14 such cases,

⁹⁵⁰ H.M. Szpek 'On the Influence of the Targum', 150-153 (see esp. 'Table 4').

⁹⁵¹ H.M. Szpek 'On the Influence of the Targum', 153.

⁹⁵² See chapter 4 and chapter 8.

⁹⁵³ 19:12, 20:5, 24:24, 28:20, 29:9, 13, 32:11, 32:15, 16, 33:25, 34:27, 36:24, 37:12, 14, 38:4, 7, 39:25, 29, 40:25 (3x) 26, 41:26, 42:11 (2x). The provision of proleptic suffixes in Syriac genitive constructions ac-

the targum again shows a remarkable correspondence with the MT by restricting its addition of otherwise unattested suffixes to two instances.⁹⁵⁴ With regard to shared additions, the number of additional suffixes provided by two or more of the Aramaic versions is relatively low, but the general picture furnished is by now, hardly surprising.⁹⁵⁵ Compared to RtgJob, the Qumran version and to an even greater extent, the Syriac translation, are far more likely to explicitly supply grammatical elements which are perceived as implied by the Hebrew.

We have seen above that, in comparison with the targum of Job, the Qumran and Syriac versions display a far greater willingness to deviate from the MT both in the area of grammatical substitutions and in their tendency to supply grammatical elements in Aramaic, which are merely implied by the Hebrew of the MT. The subject of supplementary material in the Aramaic versions, however, must be extended beyond the boundaries of the linguistic and stylistic, for when it comes to larger 'midrashic' interpolations, Szpek finds that it is RtgJob which provides far more material and does so far more frequently than the Syriac or Qumran versions.⁹⁵⁶ As was mentioned in the introduction, the content of the supplementary material provided by the targum and included within the translation is often only loosely related to the immediate context of Job in which it is found, but draws on the broader literary-ideological tradition in including themes such as the study of Torah, *Eretz Israel*, Gehenna and the Garden of Eden, and the Eschatological day of judgement. Szpek's assessment of more substantial additions

counts for a sizeable proportion of these instances.

⁹⁵⁴ (11Q10) 22:8, 24:12, 28:25, 29:12, 33:15 (2x), 34:32, 35:10, 36:13, 36:28, 37:16, 39:2, 40:24, 41:14 (RtgJob) 37:15, 38:26.

⁹⁵⁵ (11Q10 and P-Job) 21:5, 34:29, 38:4, 29:25 (final element may be either a suffix or the marker of the emphatic state) (P-Job and RtgJob) 34:28, 30:16; (11Q10 and RtgJob) 36:10.

⁹⁵⁶ H.M. Szpek 'On the Influence of the Targum', 154-58. It is important to clarify the distinction which is being drawn between RtgJob on one hand, and P-Job and 11Q10 on the other. It is often (but not always) possible to connect the targumist's sometimes radical expansion of his translation with a particular 'textual' irregularity or issue perceived by the targumist. Textual phenomena will often give rise to expansions and elaborations which go well beyond (certainly for the Syriac and Qumran translators) what would presumably be considered the linguistic-stylistic 'requirements' of an idiomatic, acceptable Aramaic rendering. In her dependence on Weiss, Szpek seems to operate with a similarly broad understanding of 'midrashic' (see above 'A history of comparison' [Introduction]).

in P-Job on the other hand, revealed that they could not be classified in the same manner because the majority were explanatory comments dependent on the immediate context.⁹⁵⁷ Furthermore, she found that the Qumran version was in fact quite similar to P-Job in this respect.

While the emphasis of the present study is on modes of modification such as omission and transposition, the above discussion of addition and substitution in the Aramaic versions allows us to at least begin the process of constructing a more broadly-based profile of the relationships between the Qumran, Syriac and targum versions of Job.⁹⁵⁸ A synoptic assessment of omission, transposition and the treatment of the *waw* conjunction in the Aramaic versions has shown that whereas the Qumran and Syriac versions are quite willing to diverge from their Hebrew text under the influence of linguistic-stylistic constraints operative in their Aramaic target languages, the targum translation of Job shows virtually no willingness to omit or transpose elements in the MT.

While the Qumran and Syriac versions supply the *waw* conjunction with great frequency in order to adapt the Hebrew text to the linguistic-stylistic constraints of the Aramaic, the Targum version shows virtually no tendency to augment its translation of the Hebrew text through the provision of even this smallest of Hebrew conjunctions. On the other hand, the willingness of all three Aramaic versions (especially pronounced in the Targum) to supply the *waw* conjunction when *supplementing* the translation, rather than when *translating* the Hebrew text itself, points toward the importance of building a total profile based not merely on omission and transposition, but also on substitution and addition.

In terms of a willingness to diverge from the MT by means of substitution, we saw that the Qumran and Syriac versions were far more likely than the Targum to make linguistic-stylistic modifications in their translations with respect to grammatical catego-

⁹⁵⁷ H.M. Szpek 'On the Influence of the Targum', 157.

⁹⁵⁸ This profile should be understood as tentative and suggestive. To complete the overall picture, a thorough tri-lateral comparison of the three versions with respect to addition and substitution should be undertaken.

ries such as 'person' and 'number'. In terms of addition, we saw that while the Targum was more prone to making larger interpolations within its translation of the Hebrew text, its use of minor grammatical additions (supplied in 11Q10 and P-Job in order to explicitly express in Aramaic what was perceived as being linguistically and stylistically implied by the Hebrew text) was greatly restricted. These latter versions' use of addition on the other hand, was primarily devoted to the production of a linguistically and stylistically acceptable Aramaic translation of the Hebrew text, while the provision of supplementary material not related to the immediate context was far less common in 11Q10 and P-Job than in the Targum translation.

The realities of translation and the data which support the above profile do not lend themselves to absolute, or categorical pronouncements regarding the character of the respective Aramaic versions. In fact the comparative structure of the study itself perhaps suggests the most useful way forward in terms of characterising the Qumran, Syriac and Targum versions of Job. With respect to their use of addition, substitution, transposition and omission, the Qumran and Syriac versions show a far greater willingness than is evident in the Targum of Job to adjust and modify the Hebrew text in order to accommodate it to the linguistic-stylistic constraints of their Aramaic target languages.⁹⁵⁹ While the Targum version of Job incorporates greater quantities of supplementary, interpretative material, its *translation* of the MT shows far less evidence of linguistic-stylistic accommodation of the sort witnessed in the other Aramaic versions of Job.

If the Targum translation shows far less evidence than 11Q10 and P-Job of linguistic-stylistic substitutions and additions, it is nevertheless true, as was mentioned above, that even RtgJob makes some linguistic-stylistic accommodation to Aramaic idiom. The substitution of Aramaic participles for Hebrew imperfect verbal forms, and the relatively frequent addition of the relative pronoun (*dalath*) are but two examples of

⁹⁵⁹ Other recent suggestions of the idiomatic nature of the Syriac of the Old Testament Peshitta are to be found in J. Joosten, 'Materials for a linguistic approach to the Old Testament Peshitta' *JAB* 1 [2] (1999) 203-18 and P.J. Williams 'Studies in the Syntax of the Peshitta of 1 Kings', 186.

such accommodation.⁹⁶⁰ The fact that substitution and addition are present, to a greater or lesser extent, in all ancient versions (including the Aramaic translations of Job) means that while their assessment may be important in the construction of an overall profile of a translation, it may be less helpful in identifying what is *unique* to a particular translation approach or school. This was, of course, seen by Weitzman with reference to the Peshitta and Targum versions of Chronicles. According to Weitzman, early authorities such as Nöldeke, Fraenkel and others were misled into identifying the Syriac version of Chronicles as a 'targum' largely as a result of their focus on the additions, embellishments and paraphrastic and midrashic elements which were apparently seen by them as the distinguishing and characteristic feature of the targumic approach.⁹⁶¹ Weitzman's reading of Fraenkel and Tötterman and his own study of Peshitta and Targum led him to focus not on what was *common* to these two Aramaic versions of Chronicles, i.e. the expansions and material supplementary to the respective translations, but rather on what *differentiated* or distinguished them from each other, that is, their respective attitudes toward, and representation of, the minutiae of the Hebrew text which lay before them. As we saw in the introduction, it is this feature, this critical dependence on, and scrupulous representation of, each Hebrew element in the order in which it appears in the MT, which is the more fundamental, defining characteristic of 'targum' for both Weitzman and Samely. The mention of these latter two scholars brings us at last to questions of definition and nomenclature amongst the Aramaic versions and we now turn to explore some of the implications of the present study for the classification of the Qumran Aramaic version as 'targum'.

Locating 11Q10 amongst the Aramaic versions.

As we saw in the introduction, the Qumran Aramaic translation of Job has been known from the time of its discovery (and editorial classification) as a 'targum'. While some scholars recently have suggested rescinding this title, an early article by B. Jonge-

⁹⁶⁰ H.M. Szpek 'On the Influence of the Targum', 144, 152.

ling ran precisely counter to these suggestions in emphasising the ‘targumic’ quality of 11Q10.⁹⁶² While he admitted that the Qumran ‘targum’ was totally independent of its Rabbinic cousin in the targum family, he nevertheless presented a series of features in 11Q10 which he took to be targumic characteristics of the Qumran translation.⁹⁶³ Unfortunately, in asserting the targumic character of 11Q10, Jongeling did not avail himself of RtgJob, surely the most logical candidate for isolating targumic features in the Qumran version. In fact, an examination of the features Jongeling identified as targumic in 11Q10 shows that these features are rarely even provided with parallels from the targums themselves.⁹⁶⁴ Indeed, when we attempt to reconstruct Jongeling’s understanding of ‘targumic’ from the examples of features identified as such in the Qumran translation, we find that it is LXX Job which furnishes parallels at least as often as Aramaic targum versions (whether RtgJob or another targum version).⁹⁶⁵ It is not surprising then that while some of the other features in 11Q10 identified by Jongeling as ‘targumic’ may well be found in the targums, Jongeling provides neither evidence nor suggestion that these features are restricted to the Aramaic translations of the Hebrew preserved in the Rabbinic tradition and known as ‘targums’. It is clear from the above that for Jongeling,

⁹⁶¹ M.P. Weitzman, ‘Is the Peshitta of Chronicles a Targum?’, 159.

⁹⁶² B. Jongeling, ‘The Job Targum’, 181-196.

⁹⁶³ B. Jongeling, ‘The Job Targum’, 190-96.

⁹⁶⁴ B. Jongeling, ‘The Job Targum’, 190-96. The targumic characteristics found in 11Q10 are: deferential use of 1) קרם and 2) מן קרם (for which see below) 3) elimination of figurative speech (the transformation of MT ‘stars singing’ to 11Q10 ‘stars shining’ [Job 38:7] is seen as a quintessentially targumic adjustment of demythologization (this may well be the motive behind the adjustment, but the idea that this type of adjustment is limited to the targum is unsubstantiated; in any case, the targumist responsible for RtgJob reproduces the ‘mythologizing’ Hebrew with no hesitation בְּזִמְנָן דְּמִשְׁבַּחִין כְּחֵדָא כּוּכְבִּי צִפְרָא; see discussion of 38:7 in chapter 7 above). 4) The ‘euphemistic’ translation of Job 31:10 ‘let my wife grind for another’ = 11Q10 ‘let others bend over...’ is seen as characteristic of the targum. Given the fragmentary context and the choice of verb the ‘euphemistic’ quality of the Qumran translator’s rendering is rather dubious. In any case, the targumist responsible for the Targum of Job, far from employing a euphemistic translation, actually clarifies the sexual nature of the admittedly ambiguous Hebrew (see above page 53). 5) The ameliorization of Job’s character and piety at the hand of the Qumran translator is seen as characteristic of a targumic translator. E. Tuinstra, *Hermeneutische Aspecten*, 63-64 argued that this translational rehabilitation of the figure of Job was a feature which both LXX Job and 11Q10 shared.

⁹⁶⁵ See preceding note.

the 'targumic' character of a translation is to be located in a general willingness to diverge from the Hebrew text primarily it seems, by means of addition or substitution.⁹⁶⁶

The fact that the Qumran translation displays 'targumic characteristics' which are also to be found in LXX Job suggests that for Jongeling, a Greek version might equally be classified as a targum.⁹⁶⁷ From this we see that Jongeling's use of the term 'targumic' is comparatively broad, and might be understood as including any ancient versions which display interpretative features which are to a greater or lesser extent, common to ancient Jewish versions of the Hebrew Bible, irrespective of language.⁹⁶⁸ The point here is not to refute Jongeling's classification of the Qumran translation of Job as a 'targum' but only to show that on the basis of his broad understanding of the term, most if not all the ancient versions of the Hebrew Bible displaying signs of Jewish interpretative influence might legitimately lay claim to being more or less 'targumic'.⁹⁶⁹

⁹⁶⁶ B. Jongeling, 'The Job Targum', 188.

⁹⁶⁷ The conclusions of A. Salvesen, *Symmachus in the Pentateuch* JSS Monograph 15 (Manchester: 1991) 297 regarding the Greek translator Symmachus' translation approach and use of Rabbinic exegesis lead her to refer to the version as 'a Greek Targum, or Tannaitic Septuagint'. On the basis of her own study, Salvesen would seem to be operating with a view of 'targum' as ancient translation which reflects specifically Rabbinic exegetical concerns as opposed to those of broader, more generic, 2nd Temple Judaism. In fact as P.S. Alexander, 'Targumim' *Anchor Bible Dictionary* VI (Doubleday, 1992) 321 points out, while previously used in other Semitic languages to denote 'translation' generally, the verb תרגם refers in Rabbinic Hebrew to translating the biblical text from Hebrew into both Aramaic and Greek (see yKidd. 59a and yMeg. 71c. where Aquila's version is the reference). Not surprisingly the corresponding noun 'targum' was similarly non-specific with regard to the target language in which the Hebrew Bible was rendered (mMeg. 2:1 and bSabb. 115a).

⁹⁶⁸ B. Jongeling, 'The Job Targum', 186. Despite defining 'targum' as 'Aramaic bible translation', Jongeling draws upon the work of R. Le Déaut and J. Robert, in characterising the targumist's approach with reference to the use of 'buffer' expressions such as *shekina*, *yeqara*, and *memra* and most importantly, the inclusion of digressions. Indeed, R. Le Déaut, 'Un phénomène spontané de l'herméneutique juive ancienne: le 'targumisme' *Biblica* 52 [5] (1971) 505-525 outlines his expanded use of the term as follows: 'Nous appelons 'targumisme', en prenant le mot *targum*, non dans sa signification technique de traduction de la Bible en araméen, mais dans le sens qu'on lui donne couramment dans le monde juif: une traduction de l'Écriture destinée à l'usage liturgique. En ce sens, LXX, Peshitta et Vulgate sont des targums et nous verrons que le targumisme y est bien implanté.'

⁹⁶⁹ Of course, as with terms such as midrash and midrashic, apocalypse and apocalyptic, the use of 'targumic' only complicates matters for even if 'targum' can be supplied with an adequate definition, the classification of texts which don't fall within the precise parameters of the definition as 'targumic' points back to the question of which are the fundamental, defining features of the genre.

While Jongeling's understanding of 'targumic' seems to be rather broad, his citation of קדם (Job 42:1) and מן קדם (Job 27:13) in the Qumran Aramaic translation, as being characteristic of 'targum' points to a more closely circumscribed understanding of 'targum' as referring specifically to Aramaic versions.⁹⁷⁰ It is not clear whether Jongeling is operating on the assumption that the use of these particular Aramaic expressions is otherwise restricted to the classical targums preserved in the Rabbinic tradition, but the quintessentially Aramaic (as opposed to Greek) realisation of these expressions clearly hints at another, linguistic aspect of the definition of 'targum'. Klaus Beyer's introductory comments to his treatment of the Qumran Aramaic translations nicely illustrate this more linguistically oriented definition of 'targum':

By Targums one means Jewish Aramaic translations of the Old Testament, **in the broader sense also the Christian Aramaic ones**. There are Jewish Aramaic Targums to all the books of the Old Testament with the exceptions of Daniel, Ezra, and Nehemiah. The Samaritan Targum includes only the Pentateuch, the **Syrian Bible translation**, the entire OT.⁹⁷¹ [*Author's trgm.*]

While Beyer is seemingly reluctant in practice to bestow upon the 'Syrian Bible translation' the title of 'targum' he nevertheless initially appears to extend the term to include 'Christian Aramaic' translations alongside the Jewish Aramaic versions.

In fact, more recent research on מן קדם suggests that the appearance of this expression in the Qumran version of Job is a preservation of an idiomatic deferential (rather than specifically anti-anthropomorphic) construction attested already in the Aramaic of Daniel.⁹⁷² As such, its use in subsequent Aramaic sources (e.g. Qumran and targumic Aramaic) is simply a testimony to these sources' shared Aramaic heritage and can be construed as specifically 'targumic' only if 'targum' is defined primarily or partly

⁹⁷⁰ B. Jongeling, 'The Job Targum', 191.

⁹⁷¹ K. Beyer, *Die Aramäischen Texte*, 273. One wonders whether the inclusion of the Qumran translations in the category 'targum' has perhaps prompted Beyer's wider definition of the term.

⁹⁷² D. Shepherd, 'MN QDM'.

as any Aramaic translation of the Hebrew Bible.⁹⁷³ In his study of other ‘distancing mechanisms’ such as **אתגלי על-אדג** and **מג/קדם** Sebastian Brock has likewise shown that the appearance of these expressions in a variety of sources including Targum, Peshitta and Qumran Aramaic texts should likewise be understood as shared phraseology inherited from a common Aramaic translation tradition.⁹⁷⁴ While in the case of Beyer, we have seen that it is precisely this shared Aramaic heritage which serves to define ‘Targum’, for Brock, as for both Weitzman and Samely the definition of ‘targum’ is still further circumscribed so as to exclude the Syriac and Qumran Aramaic translations.⁹⁷⁵

The question of whether or not the Qumran Aramaic translation of Job is a ‘targum’ is, as we have seen, at base a definitional one and therefore any answer to this question will be necessarily dependent on a particular understanding of the term ‘targum’ itself. Although this is neither the time nor the place for a thorough-going survey of the various meanings which have been assigned to the term ‘targum’, the above discussion has at least illustrated that this term may be stretched or contracted depending on who is using it.⁹⁷⁶ Armed with this knowledge and remembering that Weitzman and

⁹⁷³ The definition provided by P.S. Alexander, ‘Targumim’, 321 seems to represent a combination of the two views expressed for he limits the term ‘Targum’ to early Jewish Aramaic translation of the Bible. See his article for a concise but typically illuminating summary of the terminological issues.

⁹⁷⁴ S.P. Brock, ‘A Palestinian Targum Feature in Syriac’, 271-82. A similar sort of legacy seems to be represented by the gradual increase in the use of standard translations such as **תקף** and its derived forms. See R.P. Gordon, ‘Targum as Midrash: Contemporizing in the Targum to the Prophets’ in M.H. Goshen-Gottstein (ed.) *Proceedings of the Ninth World Congress of Jewish Studies* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press-Hebrew University, 1988) 63 and *idem*, ‘The Syriac Old Testament’, 362.

⁹⁷⁵ S.P. Brock, ‘A Palestinian Targum Feature in Syriac’, 274-75. Brock’s position on the terminological issue is clarified when he explicitly denies that 11Q10 should be called ‘...a ‘targum’ in the normal sense of the word, and to give it this name (as is usually done) simply invites confusion, and accordingly should be avoided.’

⁹⁷⁶ Raphael Weiss’ monograph on RtgJob (**התרגום הארמי לספר איוב**) may perhaps offer a clue to one source of terminological ‘confusion’: While C. Mangan’s English translation and annotation of the text is entitled simply *The Targum of Job*, the English summary of Weiss’ work in Modern Hebrew is more specifically *The Aramaic Targum to Job*. Because in modern Hebrew **תרגום** may denote generic ‘translation’ (e.g. Septuagint=**שבעים התרגום**) as well as the traditional Rabbinic Aramaic renderings of the Hebrew text, Weiss apparently felt the need to provide more specific information in his modern Hebrew title (i.e. not just any *targum*, but **התרגום הארמי לספר איוב**).

Samely see the representation of MT as perhaps the primary defining characteristic of 'targum', we turn now to consider some possible answers to the question of 11Q10's 'targumic' status.

The present study of omission, transposition and the treatment of the conjunction in the Aramaic versions of Job has shown that the Targum of Job displays a remarkable fidelity to the Hebrew source text and is quite scrupulous in its preservation of the form and order of MT Job. Of course, the targum's precise, often one-to-one, relationship with the Hebrew text admits of more than one explanation. S.P. Brock's discussion of literalism in connection with classical schoolboy cribs finds a parallel in the theory that the targum too originated as an Aramaic crib used by students in the *Beth Ha-Sepher* in order to learn to read Hebrew (then no longer a vernacular).⁹⁷⁷ A. Samely, on the other hand, sees in the targum's formal proximity to the Hebrew text, an attempt to 'pin the targumic shadow to the Hebrew text' thereby highlighting (and 'indexing' with their Hebrew lemmata) the non-translational interpolations for which the targum is famous.⁹⁷⁸ In fact, the explanations of Alexander and Samely need not necessarily be mutually exclusive.⁹⁷⁹

By comparison, the Qumran and Syriac versions of Job have displayed a far greater degree of deviation from MT Job in terms of their omission and transposition of elements, and in their willingness to supply, substitute or dispense with the conjunction. While this much seems incontestable, the attempt to explain 11Q10 and P-Job's shared divergence from the MT in these areas led to the positing of two competing hypotheses:

⁹⁷⁷ S.P. Brock, 'Aspects of Translation Technique in Antiquity', 73. See P.S. Alexander, 'How did the Rabbis learn Hebrew?' in W. Horbury (ed.) *Hebrew Study from Ezra to Ben-Yehuda* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1999) 71-89 for a recent articulation of this suggestion.

⁹⁷⁸ A. Samely, 'Scripture's Segments and Topicality in Rabbinic Discourse and the Pentateuch Targum' *JAB* 1 (1999) 118.

⁹⁷⁹ For a seemingly neglected suggestion as to the social-cultural context in which this formal literalism and radical expansiveness came to be fused, see R. Kasher, 'The Aramaic Targumim and their *Sitz im Leben*' in M.H. Goshen-Gottstein (ed.) *Proceedings of the Ninth World Congress of Jewish Studies* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press-Hebrew University, 1988) 75-85. Kasher sees the literalism as originating in the *Beth Ha-Sepher*, the expansions in the *Beth Ha-Midrash* and *Beth Ha-Talmud*, and their fusion or convergence in the liturgical context of the Synagogue (82-83).

- 1) The shared divergences of the Qumran and Syriac versions are a result of their dependence on 'vernacular' Hebrew texts of Job which already displayed many, if not all, of the omissions, transpositions and treatment of the conjunction which now appear in 11Q10 and P-Job.
- 2) The shared divergences of the Qumran and Syriac versions are a result of the shared and partially overlapping Aramaic linguistic-stylistic constraints and preferences of the two translators.

1) Similar 'vernacular *Vorlage*'

The hypothesis that both the Qumran and Syriac versions of Job are reliant on a vernacular Hebrew *Vorlage* was explored with reference to the relationship between the Targum and Syriac versions of Isaiah and the vernacular Hebrew version of Isaiah found at Qumran (1QIs^a). While P-Isaiah was found to closely parallel the vernacular Hebrew scroll of Isaiah in terms of its omissions, transpositions and the treatment of *waw*, the Targum of Isaiah presented a comparatively low degree of correspondence to 1QIs^a and did not generally present the same adjustments as were found in the vernacular version. That Targum Isaiah displays no systematic agreement with the vernacular version of Isaiah in terms of its divergence from MT is hardly surprising, however, for the targumic and Rabbinic preference for MT as opposed to vernacular texts is acknowledged by Emmanuel Tov:

The connection between [these] proto-Masoretic texts and Pharisaic circles is evident, and some scholars even call the proto-Masoretic texts 'proto-rabbinic'. When the biblical text is quoted in the Talmud and midrashim, it is that of the MT, and when the rabbinic circles produced an Aramaic translation [i.e., Targum], it is again based on a text that is more or less identical to the MT.⁹⁸⁰

This latter assertion would seem to require a measure of qualification lest it appear to claim too much. It is clear that at certain points, various texts within the Rabbinic targum tradition suggest the possibility and indeed probability that the text being rendered by the targumist was not identical with MT.⁹⁸¹ In the present context, however, the rele-

⁹⁸⁰ E. Tov, 'A New Synthesis', 300.

⁹⁸¹ For a brief discussion of non-MT readings in the targums and a considerable list of *pseudo*-variants which have been supported with reference to targumic texts, see R.P. Gordon, 'The Citation of the tar-

vant point is that the Targums do not display any reliance on Hebrew *Vorlagen* which systematically deviate from the MT in terms of omissions, transpositions, the treatment of the conjunction or other features commonly found in texts which Tov classifies as having been written in 'Qumran practise'.⁹⁸² The obvious implication of such a distinction, however, is that according to the similar 'vernacular *Vorlage*' hypothesis, the Syriac and Qumran versions of Job will have been basically literal renderings of texts similar or identical to those written in Tov's 'Qumran practise'.⁹⁸³ Were this to be the case, there would be no differentiating between the Aramaic translators responsible for 11Q10, P-Job and RtgJob in terms of their representation of the Hebrew text (i.e., formal literalism would prevail amongst all translations). This conclusion, however, carries with it a necessary corollary: if it is maintained along with Tov that Targum is by definition dependent on MT or a proto-Masoretic text, then the Qumran and Syriac versions of Job clearly cannot lay claim to the title of 'targum'.⁹⁸⁴

gums in Recent English Bible Translations (RSV, JB, NEB)' *JJS* 26 (1975) 50-60. The question of variant *Vorlage* has perhaps been most strongly pressed with respect to Neofiti. See for instance, P. Wernberg-Møller, 'An Inquiry into the Validity of the Text-Critical Argument for an Early dating of the Recently Discovered Palestinian Targum', *VT* 12 (1962) 312-30. In any case it is worth remembering that to suggest that the Qumran and Syriac versions were reliant on a non-MT type *Vorlage* is not the same as suggesting that such a *Vorlage* be necessarily *pre*-MT. For further discussion of text-critical claims for the antiquity of Neofiti, see A. York, 'The Dating of Targumic Literature' *JSJ* 5 (1974) 49-62. With respect to RtgJob, again this is not of course to say that RtgJob is never reliant on a text at variance from the MT (see R. Weiss, *התרגום הארמי לספר איוב*, xi) but rather that by and large, the *Vorlage* of the translator was very close to MT.

⁹⁸² E. Tov, 'A New Synthesis', 295-6 'The great majority of these texts reflect a free approach to the biblical text that manifests itself in adaptations of unusual forms to the context, in frequent errors, in numerous corrections, and sometimes in negligent script.'

⁹⁸³ Preliminary work by E. Ulrich (M. Abegg, P. Flint, E. Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Bible*, 590) on the few Hebrew fragments preserved (4Qjob^{a,b}) shows precisely the types of modifications which one might expect of a vernacular Hebrew text: 'Most of the variants are quite minor: singular for plural, transposition of word order, presence or lack of small words that add no meaning or are implicit... more familiar form of the word God (i.e., אל in place of אלוה).'

⁹⁸⁴ M.P. Weitzman, *The Syriac version of the Old Testament*, 128 even extends this targumic reliance on MT to its vocalisation. In both *The Interpretation of Speech in the Pentateuch Targums*, and 'The Background of Speech: Some Observations on the Representation of Targumic Exegesis' *JJS* 39 (1988) 251-60 Samely appears to assume the MT to be the source text rendered by the targumists.

2) Similar linguistic-stylistic constraints

While not all scholars operate with identical understandings of the defining characteristics of ‘targum’, Weitzman and Samely search for features which define and differentiate the ‘targumic’ approach from other versions with reference to their representation of MT.⁹⁸⁵ On the basis of their work in Syriac and Targum respectively, both of these scholars came to the conclusion that the Targum’s primary distinguishing feature over and against other versions (including the Syriac) was its faithful and conspicuous preservation of the formal features of the MT in the order in which they are preserved in this textual tradition. Although the studies of addition and substitution presented by Szpek, and supplemented by further tentative explorations above, served to differentiate the Targum of Job from the Qumran and Syriac versions on the basis of the latter’s preference for linguistic-stylistic adjustments, the more crucial task of assessing the Aramaic translators’ representation of the MT was undertaken through an evaluation of omission, transposition and the treatment of the *waw* conjunction. On the basis of these criteria, the translators of the Syriac and Qumran versions of Job have shown that the priority of fidelity to the MT, so clearly illustrated by the targumist, was overridden by, among other factors, the perceived linguistic-stylistic demands of their Aramaic target languages. It seems clear from the present study that if the targumist’s approach is to be defined fundamentally in terms of his formal preservation of Hebrew elements in the order in which they appear in MT, then the translators responsible for the Qumran and Syriac versions of Job should not be credited with the production of a ‘targum’.

What’s in a Name? Targum, translation and 11Q10

We have given consideration to the two possible explanations for the types of divergences encountered in the Qumran and Syriac versions of Job, but not discovered

⁹⁸⁵The investigation of ‘converse translation technique’ (i.e. a modification resulting in a translation conveying the opposite meaning of the source text) provides an example of a feature which was originally described as distinctively targumic (M. Klein, ‘Converse Translation’) but has since been documented in a variety of other ancient versions (R.P. Gordon, “Converse Translation”, 3-21).

in the Targum. While, in theory, it has been useful to discuss each explanation in turn and without reference to the other, in practise, these explanations need not, and indeed probably are not, mutually exclusive. Although it is theoretically possible that 11Q10 and P-Job's common divergences from MT are exclusively due to either similarity of *Vorlage* or similarity of linguistic-stylistic preference, it seems on balance more plausible to assume that a certain proportion of their shared divergences will be a result of shared translator preferences while others may be related to common dependence on a text which displays vernacular features not found in MT. While the type of modifications which appear in 4QJob^a point toward the plausibility of a vernacular *Vorlage*, it is important to note that the idiomatic Aramaic character of the Qumran and Syriac versions of Job suggests that reliance on such an already modified text is neither a *necessary* nor a *sufficient* explanation for their divergence from MT. Ultimately, the determination of which hypothesis should be made to carry the greater burden of explanation takes us beyond the confines of the present work and into the prospects for future study.

While this study has focused on literary and formal issues and is properly preliminary to a historical assessment, a few tentative comments on the implications of the present work are perhaps warranted. In his recent outline of theoretical possibilities and probabilities in the relationship between Peshitta and Targum, P. Dirksen draws a distinction between theories which root the Peshitta in the targum tradition and those which see the Peshitta as an independent rendering of the Hebrew which is more loosely related to the targum tradition through consultation, common tradition or influence.⁹⁸⁶ While the present study has virtually nothing to say on the subject of theological or exegetical traditions held in common by Targum and Peshitta, our characterisation of the respective translation approaches does speak to the question of origins. The fundamental line, as demarcated in the present study, dividing the Qumran and Syriac versions from the Targum in terms of *translation approach* would certainly imply that the Pe-

⁹⁸⁶ P. Dirksen, 'Targum and Peshitta: Some Basic Questions' in P. Flesher (ed.) *Targum Studies* 2 (Atlanta: 1998) 3-13. To the first group belong scholars such as Wohl, Peters, Voobus, Isenberg, Running and Sperber; to the latter, Schonfelder, Silverstone, Wernberg-Møller.

shitta and Qumran translation traditions are clearly and unequivocally independent of the targumic tradition. This fundamental 'non-targumic' status of both Qumran and Syriac versions would clearly rule out their share in a hypothetical 'proto-targum' which appears to be presupposed by theories which see the roots of the Peshitta in a Targum tradition.⁹⁸⁷ This is not to rule out the existence of a proto-targum from which the later targums were to derive, but rather to suggest that were such a creature to have existed, it would by definition bear more resemblance to these later targums in terms of translation approach than to more linguistically-stylistically oriented versions such as are found in the Qumran and Syriac traditions.

The answer to the question of whether these non-targumic translation traditions should be considered '*pre-targumic*' is ultimately dependent not on the dating of 11Q10 (for which 70 CE is an unshakeable *terminus ad quem*) but on the dating of the Rabbinic targum tradition.⁹⁸⁸ If the Palestinian 'targum' tradition reaches back into the 1st century CE or even earlier, as Diez-Macho and his followers have contended, then the two Aramaic traditions (targumic and non-targumic) will have been contemporary.⁹⁸⁹ If, on the other hand, the origins of the 'targum' translation tradition are to be located closer to the dates of the preserved manuscripts (how much closer may be debated) then the non-targumic approach to which 11Q10 and P-Job attest will clearly antedate the targums and should thus be considered '*pre-targumic*'. It hardly needs to be said that the above suggestions regarding the questions of the relationships amongst the Aramaic versions as *corpora*, are valid only to the extent that the findings of the present study are found to hold for the Targum, Peshitta and Qumran translation traditions more generally. Further

⁹⁸⁷ P. Dirksen, 'Targum and Peshitta: Some Basic Questions', 8, 13.

⁹⁸⁸ For methodological considerations see the still useful article by A. York, 'The Dating of Targumic Literature', 49-62.

⁹⁸⁹ For a recent, even-handed evaluation of the current debate on the relevant sources of Aramaic in the 1st century CE see L. Stuckenbruck, 'An Approach to the New Testament Through Aramaic Sources: The Recent Methodological Debate' *JSP* 8 (1991) 3-29. So long as some measure of continuity is seen with respect to the Pharisaic and later Rabbinic traditions, pushing the origins of the 'targum' tradition back into the 1st century C.E. or earlier might justify seeing the 'targum' and 'proto-targum' as being associated with Rabbinic and Pharisaic traditions respectively. (See J. Bowker, *The Targums and Rabbinic Literature: An Introduction to Jewish Interpretations of Scripture* [Cambridge: CUP, 1969] 40-42, 36 n.1).

comparative study of other Aramaic versions will, we hope, determine how representative the present conclusions are.

The present study has been restricted to issues of form and approach not because questions of dating and provenance are unimportant or irrelevant, but because they are too important to take up without continuing to explore the questions of genre and definition with respect to the Aramaic versions.⁹⁹⁰ It is hoped that the present study has played a small part both in clarifying the use of the term 'targum' and in illuminating some of the issues at stake in its application, or mis-application, to the Qumran version of Job. Still greater clarity regarding the relationships amongst the various Aramaic translation traditions and the wider world of ancient versions will depend on comparative studies which pay close attention not only to the theological and ideological traditions embedded in the versions, but the very rendering of the source text itself, and the extent to which linguistic and stylistic constraints impinge, or do not impinge, on this rendering. This type of comprehensive approach will allow us to identify not only those features, approaches and techniques which transcend the boundaries of individual translations (and even schools of translation) but also those features and approaches which differentiate and distinguish one version from another.⁹⁹¹ While the significance of the present study can only be determined through more widespread comparative work, at least one implication is relatively clear: in terms of its relationship to, and representation of the MT, the Qumran Aramaic translation of Job is no more deserving of the title 'targum' than is its counterpart in the Syriac translation tradition.⁹⁹²

⁹⁹⁰ Whatever the supposed status of an 'early core' of tradition in RtgJob, the incontestably late date of this targum in its present form (See C. Mangan, 'Some Observations on the Dating of Targum Job' in K.J. Cathcart and J.F. Healey (eds.) *Back to the Sources: Biblical and Near Eastern Studies in Honour of Dermot Ryan* (Dublin: Glendale Press, 1989) 67-78; reiterated in C. Mangan, *The Targum of Job*, 5-8) makes it even more urgent that studies similar to the one attempted here be undertaken with respect to Aramaic versions from a variety of dates and provenances.

⁹⁹¹ While there is much to be commended in R.P. Gordon's exhortation (R.P. Gordon 'Dialogue and Disputation in the Targum to the Prophets' *JSS* 39 [1994] 7-17) to adopt a 'trans-versional' approach, the present study would suggest that the construction of individual translation profiles must include, whenever possible, an assessment of linguistic-stylistic constraints on the translation along with 'translation features of a higher level of significance' (17).

⁹⁹² While the recently published edition of 11Q10 (F. Martinez *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 11*) and F. Martinez,

APPENDIX I

MEMRA IN 11Q10

While some have suggested the possibility of 11Q10's use of *memra* as early evidence of the avoidance of anthropomorphism,⁹⁹³ other commentators have sought to differentiate 11Q10 from RtgJob and the classic Jewish targumim on the basis of the reduced frequency and divergent usage of this term in 11Q10.⁹⁹⁴ Although not directly related to the main subject of the present study, this issue has a bearing on our assessment of the relationships between the Aramaic versions and the 'targumic' quality of the Qumran text. Although there is not sufficient space to discuss every instance of this expression in RtgJob, the two occurrences in 11Q10 warrant a closer look:

עַל-כָּפַיִם בָּסָה-אֲוֹר וַיִּצֹו עָלֶיהָ בְּמִפְגֵּיעַ: 36:32

[...] 11Q10 [עַל מֵאֲמֵרָה מִן]

מִטּוֹל חֲטוּף יֵדֵיָא מִנֵּעַ מִטְרָא וּפְקִיד עֲלוּהִי לְמִיחַת מִטּוֹל מִצְלִי: RtgJob

ܡܢ ܬܠܬܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ P-Job

By two palms He hath covered the light, And layeth a charge over it in meeting, YLT

He covers his hands with the lightning, and commands it to strike the mark. RSV

The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated [2nd ed.] (Brill-Eerdmans, 1994) retain the official title '11QtargumJob' assigned by *Editio princeps*. G. Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (Penguin: 1998) 431 assigns 11Q10 the rubric of '11Qar[amaic]Job' in his English translation of the DSS. This title has the incidental benefit of locating 11Q10 within its appropriate dialectal classification, that is, Qumran Aramaic.

⁹⁹³ H. Ringgren, 'Some Observations', 24.

⁹⁹⁴ J. Fitzmyer, 'Qumran Aramaic and the New Testament' in *A Wandering Aramean: Collected Aramaic Essays* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979) 94-95 in his case for the antiquity of 11Q10 over and against RtgJob for instance, notes that these are God's words addressed to Job (and consequently not an appropriate context in which to speak of maintaining reverence toward God) and that *memra* only occurs twice in 11Q10 and not in conjunction with its usage in RtgJob (the present verse being the sole exception to this rule). A. Diez-Macho, 'Le Targum Palestinien' sees this difference as resulting not from different periods of origin but rather the ideological context from which the 'Qumran-Essene targum' and the Pharisaic targumic literature emerged.

Although it is unfortunate that the remainder of the Qumran translator's rendering is not preserved, it seems likely that 11Q10 **על מאמרה** 'at/because of his command' is intended as a representation of MT **על-כפֿים** 'upon his palms (?)'. While the original editors suggest that this rendering has been motivated by the Qumran translator's desire to avoid the use of anthropomorphic language in connection with God, this assessment is far from obvious.⁹⁹⁵ E. Tuinstra agrees with this verdict citing the use of *memra* as an equivalent for the divine **כֶּה** in TgOnqelos Exod. 33:22.⁹⁹⁶ This may well be the case, but several factors complicate the situation considerably. The first thing to note is that the Hebrew is, at this point, quite difficult.⁹⁹⁷ Presumably in response to this textual difficulty, RtgJob, rather than supplying *memra*, has provided an addition here **מטול חטוף ידיא מנע** 'because of *thieving* hands he restrains...' which facilitates a retention of a literal rendering of the Hebrew and allows its integration into the rendering of the verse.⁹⁹⁸ When we turn to 11Q10's rendering (**על מאמרה**), we see what appears to be a different approach. At the outset, given the Qumran translator's susceptibility to harmonisation within the verse, it seems likely that the parallel in v.32b **וַיִּצַו** 'and he commands/ed' has provided the translator with a contextual reference point for his translation of the corresponding location in v.32a ('on/because of his command').⁹⁹⁹ Another possible consideration in assessing 11Q10's translation is the similarity be-

⁹⁹⁵ *Editio princeps*, 67.

⁹⁹⁶ E. Tuinstra, *Hermeneutische Aspecten*, 86 n. 172; B. Grossfeld, *Targum Onkelos to Exodus* AramBib 7 (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1988) 94 n. 18. notes that this reading is also to be found in Ps-J, but not in TgNeof.

⁹⁹⁷ If the actual form **כפֿים** is apparently straightforward in terms of lexical gloss ('palms') its meaning in the present context is mysterious indeed. The interpreter's ingenuity is stretched to the limits when attempting to determine the relationship between v.32a 'The covering of the hands/palms' and v.32b. 'and commands it against the mark/target'. For various attempts to do so see S.R. Driver and G.B. Gray, *The Book of Job* (I), 316 and R. Gordis, *The Book of Job*, 422.

⁹⁹⁸ As noted by C. Mangan, *The Targum of Job*, 81 n.17, Elihu's mention of 'light' is understood as signifying 'rain' according to Rabbinic tradition (Gen R. 26:7). See R. Weiss, *התרגום הארמי לספר איוב*, 276-77 for a more extensive discussion of the Rabbinic parallels. He notes too that TgLamentations 3:41 also connects 'thieving' with the occurrence of **אֶל-כפֿים**.

⁹⁹⁹ In fact, J. Fitzmyer, 'Qumran Aramaic and the New Testament', 94-95 suggests that 11Q10 may not be rendering the prepositional phrase in v.a, but rather the 'parallel' verbal form in v.b.

tween the translator's rendering here (על מאמרה) and that at 39:27 (11Q10: על מאמרך MT: על-פיה). The occurrence of פה with the prefix *kaph* is found twice in the text leading up to chapter 36 (30:18 כפי and 33:6 כפיה; see also 39:27 (על-פיה). It seems quite possible that when confronted by the phrase על-כפיה here in parallel with ויצו 'and he commands/ed', the similarity between כפיה and occurrences such as כפי and כפיה (and especially 39:27 על-פיה) has led to the present translation.

39:27 אִם-עַל-פִּיהַ יִגְבֶּיהָ נִשָּׂר' וְכִי יִרְיִם קִנְיָ:

11Q10 או על מאמרך יתגב[ה] נש[רא] ועוזא יר[י]ם קנ[ה]

RtgJob אין על מימר פומך אתגבה נשרא וארום יר[י]ם/ירום שרכפיה:

P-Job בל מלם פמכא נלסזמ נזא. חכזמ מנא למכא.

Is it at your command that the eagle mounts up and makes his nest on high? RSV

At thy command goeth an eagle up high? Or lifteth he up his nest? YLT

Whatever factors have contributed to the provision of על מאמרה in 11Q10's rendering of 36:32, the explanation of its occurrence here is comparatively straightforward. While all three versions understand the Hebrew use of פה 'mouth' as referring to 'that which comes out the mouth (i.e., command)',¹⁰⁰⁰ and provide appropriate specification in their respective translations, the manner in which they do so differs. While 11Q10 simply substitutes מאמרך 'your command' for the Hebrew פיה 'your mouth', RtgJob supplies a similar noun מימר 'word/command' but prefers to place it in construct with a more semantically proximate rendering פומך 'your mouth'.¹⁰⁰¹ The Sy-

¹⁰⁰⁰ E. Dhorme, *A Commentary on the Book of Job*, 610 provides other examples of this usage in the Hebrew Bible (e.g. Gen. 45:21).

¹⁰⁰¹ C. Mangan, *The Targum of Job*, 87.

riac translation provides a parallel to that of RtgJob, for P-Job shows Syriac ܠܠܐ ‘word’ in construct with ܡܢ ܦܝܐ, its translation of Hebrew ‘your mouth’.¹⁰⁰²

While the above two passages are the only two in which *memra* appears in 11Q10, C. Mangan follows Weiss in documenting the extensive and varied use of this term in RtgJob. C. Mangan sees the development of the use of this term as follows: The expression was first used pronominally with reference to humans ([i.e., my *memra* = me] 7:8; 19:18; 27:03; 30:20; 34:2). This pronominal use was then extended and applied to the divine (1:10,11; 2:3, 5; 13:9; 15:30 (var.); 21:15), with the result that *memra* over time, came to function first as a title (see 1:21;2:9; 4:9; 29:5; 42:9,10,12) and then eventually to replace terms such as ‘spirit’ (15:30), ‘breath’ (4:9; 32:8; 33:4; 37:10) and as we saw here in 39:27 ‘mouth’.¹⁰⁰³ How does 11Q10’s use of this expression fit in with this hypothetical reconstruction of the development of *memra*? As we have seen, the Qumran translation’s use of *memra* is restricted to functioning as an equivalent for Hebrew ‘mouth’ at 39:27 (and at 36:32, either ‘hand, palm’ or ‘mouth’). As such, it is unexpectedly in the position of manifesting the final stage of Mangan’s hypothetical line of development despite being clearly the earliest extant Aramaic translation of the Hebrew Bible. The merely unexpected becomes slightly awkward when it is noted that at locations such as Job 40:6, 42:1 and 42:10 where a substantial proportion of textual witnesses to RtgJob preserve *memra* in connection with the divine name (according to Mangan, a prior stage in the use of the expression i.e. ܡܝܡܪܐ ܕܝܝܐ), neither the Qumran nor Syriac translators parallel this usage.

The retention of this hypothesis as a viable explanation would seem to require that one posit either: a) the ‘earlier’ usage pattern reflected in the association with the divine name has been edited out of the Qumran ‘targum’ leaving only the final stage of development, or b) 11Q10’s use of *memra* cannot be accounted for within developmental theories of this term’s usage within classical targumic literature. While either of

¹⁰⁰² Elsewhere in Job (41:11, 13) the Aramaic translators render ܦܝܐ consistently with its Aramaic cognate.

these suggestions are at least theoretically possible, the lines of discontinuity marked out by the present study between the Qumran and Rabbinic ‘targums’ might favour the latter. In fact, however, Walter Aufrecht, realising the importance of 11Q10 as an early witness to Aramaic translation of Scripture, has postulated a line of development which seeks to place 11Q10’s use within the context of wider targumic usage and in doing so, effectively stands Mangan’s suggested theory of development on its head.¹⁰⁰⁴ Aufrecht posits a line of development which begins with *memra* as a standard translation for פה and קול, whether divine or human. Tracing the development through Onkelos and Ps-J to the Palestinian Targums, Aufrecht presents evidence which suggests that over time this term tended to be reserved more and more for the divine ‘mouth’ and ‘voice’.¹⁰⁰⁵ This theory at least has the benefit of locating 11Q10’s use of *memra* at an earlier phase *vis-à-vis* the later RtgJob. The Syriac parallel (ܡܡܪܐ) to 11Q10 and RtgJob here, while not making use of *memra*, lines up well with Aufrecht’s suggestion that at least the origins (if not the later development) of the use of this expression are to be explained in linguistic-stylistic terms rather than theological-ideological ones.

¹⁰⁰³ C. Mangan, *The Targum of Job*, 6. See also C. Mangan, ‘Some Observations on the Date’.

¹⁰⁰⁴ W. Aufrecht, ‘Aramaic Studies’, 62-66. See A. Chester, *Divine Revelation*, 293-313 for an evaluation and criticism of the theories of Muñoz Leon and Hayward which suggest that *memra* is a creative theological concept in the targum. Chester (311) rightly sees this theologically significant use of *memra* as being a secondary development of its original exegetical-translational function. See also V. Hamp, *Der Begriff ‘Wort’ in den aramäischen Bibelübersetzungen* (Munich: 1938).

¹⁰⁰⁵ W. Aufrecht, ‘Aramaic Studies’, 65. ‘The term *memra*, which was used initially as a simple equivalent of Hebrew קול, came to be used as a means of designating those passages which referred to God’s voice alone. This is most fully and consistently developed in the Palestinian Targums, where *memra* is used only in relation to the divine קול.’

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is completely ignored. It was a theological research student, George Wieland, currently Minister of the Abbeyfield Baptist Church in Edinburgh, who first drew my attention to the occurrence of *exarchein* in the LXX. Great thanks are due to him for suggesting the line of enquiry here pursued.

To conclude: in the ninety or so years since the discovery of the *exarchon* epitaphs, no explanation satisfactory to all has been offered for this uniquely Jewish title. Although considerable attention was given early in the century to the function and meaning of *exarchon* and related words in literary sources post-dating the epitaphs, the literary antecedents of *exarchon* were never examined. That was a great pity, for, as this paper has demonstrated, it is the earlier literary material that indicates with considerable clarity the probable meaning of the title. For centuries 'pagan' Greek writers used *exarchein* predominantly in the literal sense of leading out singing. The authors of the LXX, although employing the word in a different cultural context, did not alter significantly either its basic sense or its function. That does not mean, however, that the word underwent no development in Jewish hands. As we have seen, sometimes it was used in different ways (one thinks here of Philo's figurative use of *exarchos* and *exarchein*) and on occasion it spawned new forms—the title *exarchon* at Rome, subtly different from the pagan Greek term *exarchos*, being the main example. Critical for these developments was the high standing of the LXX among Greek-speaking Diasporan Jews and its use of ἐξῆρχε at the very climax of the Exodus narrative, the Song of the Sea (Exodus 15:21).⁸⁵ Regular users of the LXX cannot have failed to notice that verb there, given the centrality of the Exodus episode to Jewish ritual and self-identity, and those with a modicum of linguistic ability will not have been slow to recognise its potential usefulness. What word could be more appropriate for furnishing a title for the leader of contemporary congregational antiphony than that used of the Israelite leadership at the Red Sea, when it led out the nation's first recorded antiphonal song of praise and thanksgiving to God?

⁸⁵ On the importance of the Song of Moses to Diaspora Jews, see M. Hengel, *Studies in Early Christology* (Edinburgh, 1995), p. 229, n. 6. I am grateful to Professor Horbury for drawing my attention to this reference.

Will the Real Targum Please Stand Up? *Translation and Coordination in the Ancient* *Aramaic Versions of Job**

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If the seventeenth-century English playwright and poet Ben Jonson was never destined for the fame which his contemporary William Shakespeare enjoys in modern times, his slender volume on English grammar published posthumously provides a succinct definition which may serve as a suitable starting point for the present study: 'A conjunction is a word without number, knitting divers speeches together.'¹ While Jonson lacks the precision of a modern linguist, his definition of the syntactic category known as 'conjunction' nevertheless captures the essence of the matter: conjunctions tie things together.² For readers of Biblical Hebrew, it is perhaps merely a happy coincidence that Mr Jonson's reference to 'conjunction' as a '... word without number' suggests familiarity not only with a Hebrew idiom (אין מספר) but also the great frequency with which *waw*, that most famous of Hebrew conjunctions, appears in prose passages of the Tanakh.³ Questions of Jonson's knowledge of Hebrew aside, it is immediately evident to even beginning students in Biblical Hebrew that the Hebrew *waw* not only possesses a bewildering array of functions but also reappears with—from an English perspective at least—almost mind-numbing regularity in Hebrew narrative. It is not surprising then that English translators, when confronted by a Hebrew text which, by Germanic standards, appears far too well-coordinated, have introduced modifications into their translations in order to produce a stylistically acceptable English rendering.⁴

* The author would like to thank Drs Timothy Lim, Peter Hayman (Edinburgh University) and Willem Smelik (University College London) for their constructive comments on the present study. Whatever defects remain in what follows are of course the sole responsibility of the author.

¹ Ben Jonson, *English Grammar* (approx. 1637), p. xxii.

² See for example, the definition found in a recent introduction to linguistics: 'A functional category that joins together two or more categories of the same type', M. Dobrovolsky and W. O'Grady, *Contemporary Linguistic Analysis: An Introduction* (1992), p. 588.

³ The English expression 'without number' corresponds precisely to the Hebrew phrase (אין מספר) which occurs on numerous occasions throughout the Hebrew Bible, e.g. Gen. 41:49; Ju. 6:5, 7:12; Jer. 2:32; Joel 1:6; and three times in Job (5:9, 9:10, 21:33). While translators since have provided a variety of English paraphrases for this expression, the AV (1611) most often renders this Hebrew with its literal English equivalent. It may well have been that Jonson's use of this English expression was unconsciously reinforced by his familiarity with the English versions of the Bible current in the late 16th and early 17th centuries. Although somewhat dated, C. S. Lewis, *The Literary Impact of the Authorised Version* (1950), pp. 11–20, provides a brief but nuanced discussion of the different ways in which the KJV has influenced English literature and speech, finding the greatest impact in the area of imagery and preservation of vocabulary for archaic or poetical use and—to a lesser extent—in terms of style and rhythm.

⁴ This point is well expressed by, for example Millar Burrows in his contribution to the *Intro-*

Neither is it surprising that the translators of antiquity too have been faced by this same problem in their attempts to render the Hebrew text into intelligible and acceptable Greek, Latin, Armenian, Aramaic, Syriac etc. The following paper then is an attempt to explore the ways in which translators working in three dialects of Aramaic have treated the conjunction *waw* in their respective versions of the Hebrew book of Job. It is hoped that such an analysis will shed light not only on the relationship between the Aramaic versions but also on the wider question of the ancient Aramaic translators' attitude toward the Hebrew text they were translating.

I. Preliminary Considerations

While other Aramaic versions of the Book of Job do exist, the following study necessarily focuses on three unmediated translations of a Hebrew source text into Aramaic: (1) the Qumran targum of Job, (2) the Rabbinic targum of Job, and (3) the Syriac Peshitta of Job.⁵ The question of the nature of this Hebrew source text may well impinge on the present discussion, but it is perhaps more useful to postpone any treatment of this issue until the textual material has been presented. As part of our working hypothesis then, we simply note the general scholarly consensus that the Peshitta, Rabbinic Targum and Qumran Targum have all been translated from a Hebrew *Vorlage* which basically resembles the Masoretic Text.⁶ Although the study of these Aramaic versions has obviously not generated the same volume of scholarly output as the Masoretic Text(s) of Job, considerable ink has been spent on the elucidation of both general and more specific features of the texts in question.⁷ And while

duction to the Revised Standard Version of the Old Testament, a collection of essays by members of the Revision Committee, ed. L. A. Weigle (1952), p. 57: 'The Hebrew language is not as richly endowed with conjunctions as English, and cannot as readily indicate the relations between ideas by subordination of clauses. A succession of co-ordinate clauses bound together by the conjunction "and" is therefore characteristic of Hebrew syntax. In English, however, it is an unpleasing and unnecessary impoverishment of expression and is considered incompatible with good literary style. In other words, the Hebrew conjunction ordinarily translated "and" carries a variety of meanings for which English has different conjunctions. Consequently the RSV sometimes reads "when" or "then" or "so", as the sense may require, and sometimes the conjunction is simply omitted especially at the beginning of a sentence or paragraph. That this has not been done more freely must be attributed to reluctance to sacrifice the familiar flavor of the older translations ...'.

⁵ The Hebrew texts which ultimately lie behind both the Syro-hexaplaric version and the CPA lectionary fragments of Job have been mediated by the LXX translation of Job, whose influence is evident by virtue of the literal translation approach adopted by the Syriac translators. For a brief bibliography of the Syriac versions, see S. P. Brock 'Syriac Versions', *Anchor Bible Dictionary* (1992), VI, pp. 794–99.

⁶ See for example: (RtgJob) C. Mangan, *The Targum of Job*, *AramBib* 15 (1991), p. 14; R. Weiss, *התרנם הארמי לספר איוב* (1979), p. 114ff; (P-Job) H. Szpek, 'On the Influence of the Septuagint on the Peshitta', *CBQ* 60 (1998), p. 255; G. Rignell, *The Peshitta to the Book of Job* (1994), p. 363; (11Q10) E. W. Tuinstra, *Hermeneutische Aspecten van de Targum van Job uit Grot XI*, PhD dissertation (1970), p. 48; J. P. M. Van der Ploeg and A. S. Van der Woude, *Le Targum de Job de la Grotte XI de Qumran* (1971), p. 6.

⁷ For a relatively recent bibliography of work on 11Q10 and RtgJob see W. E. Aufrecht, 'A Bibliography of the Job Targumim', *Newsletter for Targumic and Cognate Studies*, Supplement 3 (1987). For P-Job see P. Dirksen, 'Supplement to Annotated Bibliography', *The Peshitta as a Translation* (1995), pp. 221–36. The Aramaic texts utilised in the present study are (unless

constraints of space do not allow for a full discussion of the characteristics of these versions, it is sufficient for our purposes to observe that recent research has led scholars to the conclusion that the Peshitta, Rabbinic targum and Qumran targum constitute independent renderings of the Hebrew text and furthermore, that no substantial evidence of any mutual or reciprocal influence amongst the versions exists.⁸

Previous research on the present topic—Aramaic Job translators' treatment of Hebrew *waw*—has been for the most part limited to independent treatments of the respective Aramaic versions. If noted at all in commentaries or studies of these versions, the omission, addition or substitution of the *waw* is primarily cited on a case by case basis often without explanation or further discussion.⁹ E. Tuinstra was the first to look at the phenomenon in the Qumran targum, providing select examples of the translator's addition, omission and substitution of *waw* in an early dissertation on the text in Dutch.¹⁰ It is, however, obvious that it was never Tuinstra's goal to provide a comprehensive and systematic account of the translator's treatment of the *waw* but rather to provide several representative examples for each category. In an attempt to avoid conclusions which reflect a merely anecdotal assessment of the Aramaic versions, the following study will be based on a systematic comparison of their treatment within a defined textual sample. As Cave 11 has preserved the Qumran targum of Job only partially, this text is necessarily the lowest common denominator among the three versions, and any synoptic comparison must be necessarily restricted to the approximately 15% of the 42 chapters of the text of Job preserved in the Qumran text's 39 columns.¹¹ Of the 39 columns

otherwise noted) 11Q10: M. Sokoloff (1974); RtgJob: D. Stec, *The Text of the Targum of Job* (1994) (MS Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Urbina I=V; for *sigla* of other MSS listed in this study see Stec) (RtgJob); P-Job: L. G. Rignell, *The Old Testament in Syriac* (Leiden edition, 1982) (MS B. 21, Milan, Ambrosian Library=7a1). Sokoloff's text is augmented by the inclusion of the additional fragment published originally by B. E. Zuckerman and S. A. Reed, 'A Fragment of an Unstudied Column of 11Q10: A Preliminary Report', *The Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon Newsletter* 10 (1993), pp. 1–7. H. Szpek, 'On the Influence of the Septuagint on the Peshitta', p. 25, notes that the text tradition of P-Job lacks the earliest text phase of the Peshitta identified by M. Koster (see most recently 'The Copernican Revolution in the Study of the Origins of the Peshitta', *Targum Studies* 2, ed. P. V. M. Flesher (1998), pp. 15–54). While 7a1 is then a representative of the earliest available stage of the text of P-Job, we unfortunately lack the evidence which would allow us to speak of earlier translators' (or transmitters') treatment of the *waw*.

⁸ Both J. Wilson, '11Q10 and the Question of the Essene-Edessa Connection' (paper delivered at the 1997 Jerusalem Congress marking the Fiftieth Anniversary of the discovery of the DSS), and H. Szpek, 'On the Influence of the Targum on the Peshitta to Job', in *Targum Studies* (1998), pp. 141–57, have apparently arrived at the same conclusions independently.

⁹ E.g. Rignell, pp. 279, 300 etc.; S. A. Kaufman, 'The Job Targum from Qumran', *JAOS* 93 (1973), p. 318.

¹⁰ Tuinstra, *Hermeneutische Aspecten*... (1970), p. 49, includes, in a list of various divergences from MT, a number of instances where 11Q10 adds (29:24, 29:25, 30:13, 32:16, 34:15, 36:15, 36:25, 39:8, 39:26, 41:16) and omits (19:15, 21:25, 24:12, 25:1, 26:14, 27:12, 27:16, 27:18, 29:10, 29:11, 34:29, 36:7) the *waw*. He also includes examples of the translator's substitution of his own Aramaic expression in place of the Hebrew *waw* (21:4, 25:3, 32:2, 36:26) as well as locations where he has apparently replaced an MT expression with a *waw* (21:7, 27:11, 36:30). S. A. Kaufman, 'The Job Targum from Qumran', p. 318, also provides a small list of additions (II, 4; IV, 3, 4; V, 5; VIII, 2; X, 5; XI, 2; XIV, 2) and omissions (e.g. XIV, 9; XXIV, 9; XXVII, 9; XXIX, 5).

¹¹ The previous total of 38 (*Editio Princeps*) was augmented by the discovery and, in 1993,

extant, a total of 29 serve as the sample for the present study.¹² While such a sample would undoubtedly be insufficient to support certain types of analyses, the frequency with which the *waw* appears in these texts allows us to place some confidence in the validity of the conclusions reached.¹³

In her work on the Peshitta of Job, Heidi Szpek introduced a degree of sophistication and systematisation into her analysis of the Syriac translator's treatment of the *waw*. While Szpek too made use of the same general categories of Addition, Omission, Substitution she went beyond Tuinstra to consider the motivation for the various modifications¹⁴—that is, in a given case, why does the Syriac translator of P-Job diverge from the Masoretic text in his use of the *waw*? While Szpek's study does indeed inform the present paper, the inclusion of two independent Aramaic translations means that her framework and set of categories have inevitably required a measure of adjustment in order that the present analysis take account of all the data relevant to the present discussion.¹⁵ Because the sample is limited to material preserved in the Qumran translation the present study is of course not able to take account of the entire range of data analysed by Szpek.

As an exhaustive study of even the present topic would require a far more extensive treatment than may be provided here, the discussion will be orientated by the following three questions:

1. How do the translators responsible for the Aramaic translations of the Hebrew book of Job treat and represent the *waw* conjunction in their respective renderings?
2. How do the various Aramaic versions relate to each other in terms of their treatment of this conjunction?
3. What light, if any, do the answers to the above questions shed on the wider question of the definition of 'targum' and the classification of the Aramaic versions of Job?

In attempting to come to grips with these three questions, the discussion will be based on a series of examples drawn from the texts themselves. However, in order to try and avoid the distortions that may occur when select examples are drawn from a larger body of material these examples will be supplemented with some graphical representations of the data under consideration. Although the discussion proper will be limited to the ancient Aramaic

publication of fragment 6a (Column VIIa) by Zuckerman and Reed (see note 7 above). The column was subsequently included in 11Q^{targum}Job as published in F. Martinez *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 11 Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* 23 (1998).

¹² Columns I–IX; XX–XXXVIII.

¹³ Because it is the latter portion of the dialogues and the epilogue which are preserved in translation by 11Q10, the sample is drawn from both poetic and prose material.

¹⁴ H. Szpek, *Translation Technique in the Peshitta to Job*, SBLDS 137 (1992), p. 117.

¹⁵ Categories: Omission, Error, Redundancy. Addition: larger addition, implicit to explicit exegesis, intra and parallel verse influence but primarily language difference. H. Szpek, 'On the Influence of the Targum ...', p. 144, includes 11Q10 in her study of the possible influences of the targumic tradition on P-Job, but does not appear to have extended her comparison of the treatment of the *waw* to the Qumran text (n. 20).

versions, parallel examples may be drawn from modern Bible versions where relevant in order to illustrate a particular issue or phenomenon.¹⁶

It is neither possible nor necessary here to rehearse the multitude of functions assigned by modern grammarians to the Hebrew conjunction *waw*. In addition to the well known (but only partially understood) role the *waw* plays in the Biblical Hebrew verbal system,¹⁷ the *waw* serves a wide variety of both coordinative and non-coordinative syntactic functions.¹⁸ In the examples below consideration will be given to the particular function of the *waw* in both the Hebrew text and its Aramaic renderings. However, an exhaustive analysis of coordination in either the Hebrew book of Job or its Aramaic versions is not intended. Rather, the following study will focus on the representation of the *waw* in Aramaic translation generally as an index of the respective translators' attitudes toward the Hebrew text.

II. *Modifications Unique to the Respective Aramaic Versions*

While we will eventually turn to the question of possible parallels in the Aramaic versions' treatment of the conjunction, it seems wise to deal first with the cases in which one of the three shows a divergence from the Hebrew text not attested in the other two at the same location.

A. 11Q10

A1. *Minus*

While the Aramaic translation found at Qumran occasionally lacks a *waw* where it appears in the middle of a Hebrew verse, the majority of the otherwise unattested minuses are found at the beginning of a verse.¹⁹ In fact these unique initial *waw* minuses occur in 11Q10 only at the beginning of a particular type of verse, illustrated here by 23:1:

¹⁶ As most modern translations are based primarily on the MT, their treatment of the *waw* can in most cases be safely attributed to translator's intervention rather than an alternate *Vorlage*. Unless otherwise noted, the English translations which appear in the present study have been drawn from the following sources: MT: Revised Standard Version, F. Martinez *et al.*, *DJD* 23 (11Q10); C. Mangan, *The Targum of Job* (RtgJob); author's own translation (P-Job).

¹⁷ See for instance B. Waltke and M. O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (1990), 29.0, for a balanced evaluation of competing (and to some extent mutually enriching) theories of the Biblical Hebrew verbal system. Despite some evidence of the *waw*-contrastive in Old Aramaic (V. Sasson, 'Some Observations on the Use and Original Purpose of the *waw* Consecutive in Old Aramaic and Biblical Hebrew', *VT* 47, pp. 111–27), the present study finds no such evidence in the dialects of Aramaic utilised by the three translators of Job.

¹⁸ R. J. Williams, *Hebrew Syntax: An Outline* (1967), pp. 72–73, gives examples of coordinative, disjunctive, adversative, alternative, explicative, pleonastic, accompaniment, comparative, emphatic, sarcastic, resumptive, adjunctive and distributive functions. B. Waltke and M. O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew* ... (39.2), provide examples of disjunctive, conjunctive and exegetical *waw* under the broad classification of coordination by *waw*. Finally J. C. L. Gibson, 'Coordination by *Vav* in Biblical Hebrew', in *Words Remembered, Texts Renewed*, eds Davies, Harvey, Watson (1994), pp. 272–79, follows F. I. Anderson, *The Sentence in Biblical Hebrew* (1974), pp. 66–69, in listing the coordinative functions of *waw* in the Hebrew sentence as: conjunctive, chiasmic, alternative, contrastive, antithetical.

¹⁹ Medial minuses occur at 19:15 and 21:5, but in both cases the fragmentary state of the text contributes to the difficulty with which a motivation can be detected.

23:1 (ו) יַעֲזֹב אִיּוֹב וַיֹּאמֶר:

11Q10 *vacat* () עָנָא אִיּוֹב וַאֲמַרְ[ר]

RtgJob (ו) אֲתִיב אִיּוֹב וַאֲמַר:

P-Job (א) בָּרַךְ אֱלֹהִים מֵאֲדָמָה

While a *vacat* in the text clearly indicates that the Qumran translator has understood that a new section in the text is beginning, the translation lacks the initial *waw* present in the MT and the other Aramaic versions.²⁰ Similarly at 25:1, 40:6 and 42:1, where the translator of 11Q10 has encountered this same introductory phrase the conjunction is also lacking. Bruce Zuckerman has noted that the lack of conjunction in this type of introductory sequence in 11Q10 (עָנָא . . . וַאֲמַר) is paralleled by the introductory expressions in the Imperial Aramaic of Daniel and Ahiqar where the conjunction is similarly lacking.²¹ As may be seen from the treatment of וַיֹּאמֶר in this same verse, none of the Aramaic translators 'need' the *waw* in order to preserve the Hebrew narrative tense.²² That the *waw* is nevertheless lacking in identical contexts in these four locations suggests that the translator has omitted it, having perceived it as superfluous to an idiomatic Aramaic rendering of the verse.

A2. *Plus*

There are also instances where the translation from Qumran diverges from the MT in providing a *waw* where the conjunction is neither attested in the Hebrew nor in the other Aramaic versions. As may be seen below in 32:15, where this type of plus occurs medially, it often serves to link two propositions which are merely juxtaposed in the Hebrew:²³

32:15 חֲתוּ לֹא-עֲנוּ עוֹד () הָעֲתִיקוּ מֵהֶם מְלִים:

11Q10 והַחֲשִׁי (ו) נִטְרַת מִנְהוֹן [. . .]

RtgJob אֲתִבְרוּ וְלֹא אֲתִיבוּ תוֹב () אֲסַתְלֶקוּ מִנְהוֹן מְלִיא:

P-Job צִלְמָא חֲלֵיבָא לֹא בִּרְחֵמֵי, () אֲפִסֵּא מִנְהוֹן לֹא חֲלֵיבָא

In verse 15 of Job, chapter 32, where Elihu upbraids Job's 'friends', the MT does not include any linking conjunctions ('They are shattered, they've

²⁰ E. Kutsch, 'Die Textgliederung im hebräischen Ijobbuch sowie in 4QJgJob und in 11QJgJob', *Biblische Zeitschrift* 27 [2] (1983), pp. 221–28.

²¹ B. E. Zuckerman, *The Process of Translation in 11QJgJob: A Preliminary Study*, unpublished PhD diss. Yale: UMI (1980), p. 292 nn. 51, 52. See, for example, Daniel 2:5, 8, 15, 20, 26, 27, 47, etc., and Ahiqar 110, 118, etc.

²² B. E. Zuckerman, *The Process of Translation . . .*, p. 236, notes that 11Q10 translates the Hebrew *waw*+imperf. with this form. For the Aramaic use of the *waw*+imperfect form see note 17 above.

²³ Such medial plusses occur at 32:15, 35:10, 39:3 and 39:4 (partially due to intra-verse influence). Such asyndetic coordination is not uncommon in Hebrew poetry; see J. C. Gibson, 'Coordination by *Vav* in Biblical Hebrew', p. 278. Two interesting exceptions to the rule are preserved in 11Q10's translation of 33:25 and 39:21, where the translator has supplied the *waw* as part of a translation which diverges from the MT considerably. Here it is used to integrate interpretative material into the translation. At 39:23 the *waw* is added by the translator due to an error in recognition or interpretation of two Hebrew terms in construct.

stopped answering, they are lost for words' [lit. words are removed from them]), preferring rather to link the clauses asyndetically. Although the Qumran translation of 32:15 is not preserved in its entirety,²⁴ sufficient material remains to see that 11Q10 includes a *waw* conjunction which serves to explicitly mark the co-ordination between the Aramaic rendering of these clauses 'and they were silent ... and I withheld from them [words?]' . While the syntax of the Hebrew seems unambiguous and neither RtgJob nor P-Job show the addition of the conjunction, the Aramaic translator appears to have provided the conjunction as a means of making the relationship between the clauses utterly clear.

On other occasions the Qumran translation has a *waw* plus at the beginning of a verse where it is lacking both in the MT and in the other Aramaic versions of Job. The following example, drawn from Job 39:6, 7 and 8 illustrates this type of modification:²⁵

39:6	אֲשֶׁר-שְׁמִתִּי עֲרָבָה בֵּיתוֹ וּמִשְׁכָּנֹתָיו מִלְחָה:
11Q10	דִּי שְׁוִית דַּחַשְׁת בִּיתָה וּמְדֵרָה בֵּא*ר*ע מְלִיחָה
RtgJob	דִּי שְׁוִיתִי מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל בֵּיתָהּ וּמִשְׁכָּנֶיהָ אֶרֶץ צָדִיא:
P-Job	דִּיבְּדָה פִּמְלָה בְּלִמָּה. וּבִבְלִיָּה בְּלִמָּה. וּבִבְלִיָּה בְּלִמָּה.
39:7	() יִשְׁחָק לִהְיוֹן קָרִיָּה תִּשְׁאֹת נוֹגֵשׁ לֹא יִשְׁמַע:
11Q10	(ו) חֲאֲךְ עַל מַהֲמָא תִּקַּף קָרִיא וּנְגַשְׁת שְׁלִיט לֹא יִשְׁמַע
RtgJob	() גִּחְךְ לִרְגֹשׁ קָרִיתָא אַתְרִגְשְׁתָּא דְרֵאדִּי לֹא יִשְׁמַע:
P-Job	() חֲנִיָּה בִּלְ שִׁמְעָא דְּפִמְלָה. וּבִבְלִיָּה בְּלִמָּה. וּבִבְלִיָּה בְּלִמָּה.
39:8	() יִתּוֹר הָרִים מְרִיעָהוּ וְאַחֲרָה כָּל-יְרוֹק יִדְרוֹשׁ:
11Q10	(ו) יִבְחַר לֵה טוֹרִינִן לִרְעִיָּה וְכַתֵּר כָּל יְרוֹק יִרְדֵּף
RtgJob	() יֵאֱלִיל טוֹרִיא מְרַעִיהָ וְכַתֵּר כָּל יְרוֹקָא יִתְבַּע/יְבַע:
P-Job	() בְּפִמְלָה דְּלִמָּה. וּבִבְלִיָּה בְּלִמָּה. וּבִבְלִיָּה בְּלִמָּה.

In her analysis of P-Job's treatment of the *waw*, Heidi Szpek has suggested that when the *waw* plus occurs in the Peshitta of Job at the beginning of a verse, it serves either to initiate a new unit of meaning (e.g. P-Job 1:16) or to continue a semantic unit begun in the preceding verse (e.g. P-Job 1:17, 18).²⁶ All of the unique *waw* plusses in 11Q10 appear to belong to the latter category

²⁴ Although it is by no means certain (because the end of the preceding line, XXI, 6, is not preserved), most commentators have assumed that 11Q10 וְהָחֵשׁוּ, 'they were silent', corresponds to Heb. לֹא-עָנוּ עוֹד, 'they did not answer again'; see, for example, *Editio Princeps*, p. 53, M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job from Qumran*, p. 208, and B. Jongeling, *Een Aramees boek Job uit de Bibliotheek van Qumran* (1974), p. 88. If so, this is an example of 11Q10 opting for an interpretative translation much like P-Job utilises in 32:11 (interpreting הִוָּחֵלֵתִי, 'I waited', as meaning *štqt*, 'I was silent'). Whatever the correspondence in the first stich, the addition of the conjunction medially seems indisputable.

²⁵ Medial *waw* plusses appearing in these verses (and shared by P-Job and 11Q10) will be dealt with below.

²⁶ H. Szpek, *Translation Technique in the Peshitta to Job ...*, pp. 127-28.

illustrated above.²⁷ In Job 39:5–8, the so-called Voice from the Whirlwind poses a series of rhetorical questions which are used to emphatically press home the point that it is God, and not man that ultimately rules and provides for the animal kingdom:

- (39:5 'Who has let the wild ass go free? Who has loosed the bonds of the swift ass,)
 39:6 to whom I have given the steppe for his home, and the salt land for his dwelling place?
 39:7 He scorns the tumult of the city; he hears not the shouts of the driver.
 39:8 He ranges the mountains as his pasture, and he searches after every green thing.

The text of 11Q10 shows conjunctions at the beginning of verse 7 (וְחָאךְ) 'על מהמא, 'and he laughs at the tumult ...' and verse 8 (וְיַבְחַר לֵה טוֹרִינָן) 'לרעניה²⁸ 'and he chooses mountains for himself as his past[ure]). While neither the MT nor the other Aramaic versions possess the conjunctions at these points, these plusses in 11Q10 apparently serve to provide the Aramaic reader of the translation with explicit markers of coordination in this passage.²⁹

A3. Substitution

While the Qumran Aramaic translation of Job shows several unique *waw* plusses and minuses, substitutions found only in this text are comparatively rare. In the example from 32:2a shown below, 11Q10's use of אַדִּין, 'then', in place of the Hebrew conjunction serves not to link what follows with the preceding material but, on the contrary to emphasise the beginning of a new section (marked as פְּתוּחָה, 'open', in the Masoretic text).

32:2	(ו) יַחַר אִף אֱלֹהִיּוֹא בֶן-בְּרַכָּאֵל הַבּוֹי מִמְשַׁפַּחַת רָם
11Q10	(vacat preceding line) (אדין) רגון. [. . . זרע רומא] [. . .]
RtgJob	(ו) תְּקִיף רִגּוֹזָא דְּאֵלִיּוֹא בֶר בְּרַכָּאֵל בּוּזָא מִן גְּנִיסַת אַבְרָהָם
P-Job	(א) אֱלֹהִים אֱלֹהִים בֶּן בְּרַכָּאֵל בּוּזָא מִן גְּנִיסַת אַבְרָהָם

²⁷ Initial plusses include 39:7, 8, 25; 40:30; and 41:16. A *waw* also appears in 11Q10 as an initial plus at 32:16, but the text's fragmentary state of preservation precludes a decision regarding its function.

²⁸ Both 11Q10's translation of MT יַחַר, 'to seek out (select), spy out, explore', as יַבְחַר, 'he selects', and its addition of a suffixed preposition לֵה, 'for himself', suggest that it has incorrectly understood this occurrence of the Hebrew verb in the light of its usage in passages such as Nu. 10:33, Dt. 1:33 and Ezek. 20:6, where this Hebrew lexeme takes the *lamedh* as preposition with the meaning 'choose/select'. F. Martinez *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 11* . . . , p. 157, are thus not entirely correct in suggesting that RtgJob ('He explores the mountains . . .') and 11Q10 share a common interpretation. See KB³ תור 1, pp. 573–74.

²⁹ Although the Aramaic translator of 11Q10 has similarly added a *waw* at the beginning of his translation of 39:25, F. Martinez *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 11* . . . , p. 159, have neglected to render it in their English translation. If not accidental, this omission of the Aramaic *waw* in English translation is a testimony to the pressure which may be exerted by English stylistic preferences even in a scholarly translation of an ancient text.

(Then) Eli'hu the son of Bar'achel the Buzite, of the family of Ram, became angry. He was angry at Job because he justified himself rather than God; (RSV)

While this text division is marked in P-Job as well by ∴ at the end of the preceding verse (32:1), the Syriac translation itself has not been altered in the light of this textual division as appears to be the case in 11Q10. Of the Aramaic translators it is only 11Q10 who has chosen to explicitly mark the beginning of this new section with an alternative lexeme in his translation.³⁰ The other unique substitution occurring at the beginning of a verse is found at 36:28 where the Qumran translator provides a *waw* where the Hebrew text begins with the relative pronoun (אשר).³¹

B. P-Job

B1. *Minus*

Like the Qumran Aramaic translation, P-Job shows unique *waw* minuses both at the beginning of a verse and at various points medially. At 17:15, near the beginning of the synoptic Aramaic Job material, we see that P-Job shows a *waw* minus at the beginning of the verse where the other Aramaic versions follow the MT in providing the conjunction:

(ו) אֵיךְ אֶפֶר תִּקְוָתִי	17:15
(ו) מֵא אֶפֶר א	11Q10
(ו) הָאֲנָוֶן דִּכִּי סְבָאֲרִי	RtgJob
() אֶפֶר מֵא מֵא	P-Job

() 'Where then is my hope? ...' (ASV, RSV, NIV, NRSV)

P-Job, along with most modern English versions, does not include the conjunction following 17:13–14 ('If I look for Sheol as my house, if I spread my couch in darkness; if I say to the pit, "You are my father", and to the worm, "My mother, or My sister", Where [Heb. (ו) אֵיךְ] then is my hope ...'). It appears to be the case that both Syriac and English translators have perceived the *waw* to be stylistically surplus to requirements and not worthy of repre-

³⁰ Although the *waw* here does not function as a 'true' disjunctive in the Hebrew (ו+non-verb; see T. Lambdin, *Introduction to Biblical Hebrew* (1971), p. 162), it is apparently perceived as such by the Aramaic translator as its consecutive-contrastive function is no longer pertinent. The Aramaic adverb now serves the function of the disjunctive, that is, it refers to new participants or announce a shift of scenery (B. Waltke and M. O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, 39.2.3). It is of course here at the beginning of Chapter 32 that the much debated Elihu speeches begin.

³¹ The translator of 11Q10 opts to substitute the *waw* conjunction for the Hebrew relative pronoun, thereby transforming the Hebrew subordinate construction ('he distills his mist in rain, which the skies pour down') into a coordinate one ('... he forms the blasts of rain. And his clouds send down ...'). While this same modification is attested elsewhere in P-Job (e.g. 22:10), 11Q10's proximate translation of the relative pronoun in the initial position elsewhere (22:16, 34:27, 37:17, 39:6) suggests that the motivation for this adjustment here is probably the stylistic preference of the translator rather than linguistic necessity. 11Q10 also uniquely substitutes Aramaic א, 'or', for the Hebrew *waw* at 25:3.

sensation in their respective target texts.³² It may be that the Syriac translator has seen the Hebrew adverb אֲפֹ (rendered by all three versions) as marking the apodosis 'If ... where **then** is my hope?' despite the fact that it may here be functioning merely disjunctively. This, then would be an additional motivation for omitting the conjunction.

Unlike 11Q10 however, which primarily shows its unique minuses initially, the Syriac translation of Job provides the majority of its unique minuses medially. An example from 38:3 also cited by Szpek provides an illustration of this phenomenon:

38:3	אַזְר-נָא כְּגִבֹּר חֲלָצִיף (ו) אֲשָׁאֵלְךָ (ו) הוֹדִיעֵנִי:
11Q10	אָסֵר נָא כִּגְבִיר בְּרַחֲלִיצִיךָ וְאַשְׁאֵלְךָ (ו) הִתִּיבֵנִי פִתְגָם
RtgJob	וְרוֹ כַעַן/כְּדוֹן הִיךְ גְּבִירָא חֲרָצִיךְ (ו) אֲבַעֲנֵךְ (ו) תְּהוֹדִיעֵנִי:
P-Job	אַשְׁמַד נָא אִתִּי בְּפִזָּא עֲלֵיךָ () אֲשָׁאֵלְךָ () אֲפֹדִיעֵנִי:

Gird up your loins like a man, () I will question you, (and) you shall declare to me. RSV

Here the Hebrew composer of the divine speeches uses the *waw* to conjoin three clauses ('Gird up', 'so that I may question you' 'Make known to me').³³ While the conjunctions are preserved in RtgJob and 11Q10, the Syriac version omits these in its rendering of the Hebrew.³⁴ Confirmation that the Syriac translator has a preference for leaving simple verbal clauses such as these without an explicit Syriac conjunction is provided by 40:7, 11 and 42:4. Where the *waw* is used conjunctively in these locations, it is also omitted by P-Job.³⁵

B2. Plus

As is the case with 11Q10, P-Job shows unique *waw* plusses both initially and medially. The addition of an initial conjunction reflects the translator's perception that a given verse is related to the one(s) which precedes it and its provision serves to make explicit this linkage:

41:11	() מִפִּיּוֹ לְפִידִים יִהְיוּ כִּדְלֹדִי אֵשׁ יִתְמַלֵּט:
11Q10	() מִן פֶּמָה לְפִידִין יִפְקֹן בְּלִשְׁנֵי אִשָּׁה יִרְטֹן

³² H. Szpek, *Translation Technique in the Peshitta to Job* . . . , pp. 118–19, offers the following as the first of five constraints on P-Job's perception of the redundancy of *waw*: 'the *waw* conjunctive is unnecessary in conjoining the apodosis to the protasis in a conditional proposition'.

³³ The syntactic sequence in the Hebrew appears to be: Volitional form (Imperative)+()+()+prefix conjugation)+Volitional form (Imperative). B. Waltke and M. O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* . . . , 39.2.2a, 2.5, define the function of the conjunctive *waw* as joining '... two clauses which describe interrelated or overlapping situations not otherwise logically related.'

³⁴ Other English versions such as ASV, NIV, and NRSV also retain only the latter *waw* in translation.

³⁵ H. Szpek, *Translation Technique in the Peshitta to Job*, p. 119, n. 29, provides a list of such omissions across the entire text of P-Job. At 36:7, P-Job omits the *waw* due to difficulties in its rendering of the verse as a whole, while at 40:5, the omission seems to result from the translator's perception of the *waw* as functionally superfluous.

() מפומיה בעוריא יהלכון גיצין דנור משתזובין: RtgJob
 P-Job () נפמך ת פממח לחפאזא אפך לממחא דמזא. אפך צבב
 נזא חלמלך

In Chapter 41 of Job, the composer of the divine speeches paints a vivid and memorable portrayal of the great sea creature Leviathan. After focusing on the beast's fierceness, the poet depicts its formidable armament (v. 10): 'His sneezings flash forth light, and his eyes are like the eyelids of the dawn. (v. 11) Out of his mouth go flaming torches; sparks of fire leap forth.' As we have seen above with the Qumran translator's rendering of 39:6–8, here P-Job's translation reflects an attempt to provide explicit markers of coordination between verses in order to delineate the unit of meaning as he has perceived it and to make this unit clear to the reader of the Syriac translation. The addition of this conjunction at the beginning of verse 11 ((w)npqyn mn pwmh lmp'd', 'and from his mouth lamps come forth ...') reflects and, when added in the Syriac version, emphasises the semantic connections between verse 11 and the preceding verse.³⁶ Even more common than initial plusses are the medial plusses which are unique to the Syriac amongst the Aramaic versions of Job:³⁷

38:26 להמטיר על-אפך לא-איש () מדבר לא-אדם בו:
 11Q10 להנחתה על ארע | () מדבר די-לא אנש בה
 RtgJob ... מטרא עלוי ארעא דלית בה גבר () מדבר דלא בר-נש ביה:
 P-Job לממחא חפאזא ב אפך אפך () ממוחא דלמא בנש

to bring rain on a land where no man is, () on the desert in which there is no man; (RSV)

As is the case with 11Q10, the bulk of P-Job's unique *waw* plusses occur between two independent stichs. Here it seems that the Syriac translator is reproducing in his target text, a use of the conjunction common in Hebrew verse. While two more or less synonymous propositions may be coordinated asyndetically (i.e. without the conjunction) in Hebrew poetry, it is often the case that the two stichs maybe joined through the use of the so-called *epexegetical waw*.³⁸ Here in 38:26, where the Hebrew stichs are merely apposed,

³⁶ Other unique initial plusses in P-Job occur at 23:4, 25:3, 33:7, 35:14, 36:29, 39:4, 40:11, 41:10. See H. Szpek, *Translation Technique in the Peshitta to Job* ..., p. 126 n. 43, for other initial plusses.

³⁷ See for instance P-Job at 23:6, 31:40, 33:15, 35:9, 36:29 37:16, 38:8, 23, 39:23, 40:23, 41:9, 15. See also Szpek's list for the total picture in P-Job. I am unable to agree however with Szpek's analysis of 24:15: although the Hebrew infinitival construction 'לאמר', 'saying', does not appear often in the predominantly poetic book of Job, it is treated in 24:15 ((w'mryn) in the same fashion as it is in other parts of the Peshitta (i.e. provision of a conjunction followed by a verb of the same root in a form determined by its grammatical context). See for instance in the Pentateuch: Gen. 37:15; Exod. 7:16; Lev. 23:23; Num. 20:7; Deut. 27:1. Other locations where P-Job adds the *waw* medially include 37:13 and 40:24.

³⁸ B. Waltke and M. O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* ..., 39.2.4, suggest that the function of the epexegetical conjunction is 'problematic' in verse, but note that the *waw* may in these circumstances function to intensify the poetic language. Should the *waw* which

the Syriac translator appears to have replicated this exegetical use by providing the *waw* as an explicit marker of co-ordination. Although as a rule, the *waw* is supplied in P-Job in response to the linguistic/stylistic demands, on rare occasions the Syriac translator does make use of the conjunction to incorporate additional material into his translation.³⁹

B3. Substitution

As is the case with the Qumran translation, the Syriac translation of P-Job occasionally shows a substitution of the MT conjunction which is otherwise unattested in the Aramaic versions. Here in 25:4 we see an example of the Syriac translation representing the *waw* with the Syriac conjunction 'w:

25:4 ומה-יצדק אָנוֹשׁ עִם-אֵל (ו)מֵה-יִזְכֶּה יְלֹד אִשָּׁה:

11Q10 [. . .] אלהא (ו)מא יצדק [. . .]

RtgJob ומה יודכי בר-נש עם אלהא (ו)מה יוכי ילוד/יליד/אתתא:

P-Job אܡܢܐ ܡܡܢ ܒܐ ܐܢܬܐ ܠܡܬܐ ܡܢ ܐܡܬܐ. (ܐܡ) ܐܢܬܐ

ܐܢܬܐ ܠܢܐ ܐܢܬܐܐ.

How then can man be justified with God?

(or) how can he be clean [that is] born of a woman? (AV)

How then can man be righteous before God?

() How can he who is born of woman be clean? (RSV)

As Szpek has noted, P-Job has chosen to render the Hebrew *waw* (which may be used to indicate 'or')⁴⁰ with another coordinating conjunction ('w, 'or') used by the Syriac with the expressed purpose of joining alternatives. While the Syriac translation of the two stiches exhibits slight deviations from the MT ('How then is a man found/able⁴¹ to be just with God *or* how can one born of a woman be pure') it is clear that through the substitution of Syriac 'w for the Hebrew *waw*, the translator of P-Job has made the 'alternative' aspect of the two Hebrew stichs more explicit in his Syriac translation.⁴² It is interesting to note that the Aramaic translation from Qumran makes this exact same substitution (ܐܠ for *waw*) in the preceding verse, where Bildad's first pair of rhetorical questions emphasise the might of God. It seems that while both the translators of 11Q10 and P-Job sensed the need for some type

is provided by the Syriac translator of P-Job in these circumstances be seen as paralleling the function of the Hebrew exegetical conjunction?

³⁹ This use of the *waw* also appears in 11Q10 (see n. 23 above) but is relatively rare in both the Syriac and Qumran versions when compared with uses dictated by language difference. While H. Szpek, *Translation Technique in the Peshitta to Job* . . . , p. 122, has suggested that P-Job's addition at the beginning of 38:29 is similarly motivated by the inclusion of extra material in this verse, 11Q10's addition at the same point suggests that P-Job may have added the conjunction in any case.

⁴⁰ For the so-called 'alternative' function of the *waw*, see R. J. Williams, *Hebrew Syntax* . . . , p. 71.

⁴¹ For the former understanding see J. Payne-Smith, *A Compendius Syriac Dictionary* (1957), p. 115 (ܐܠ); for the latter see G. Rignell, *The Peshitta to the Book of Job*, p. 202.

⁴² See H. Szpek, *Translation Technique in the Peshitta to Job* . . . , p. 129, for a discussion of this phenomenon throughout P-Job.

of explicit marking of the two pairs of rhetorical questions in vv. 3–4, each chose to mark a different pair.⁴³

C. RtgJob

C1. *Minus*

We now turn to a consideration of the last remaining Aramaic version—the Rabbinic Targum of Job—with respect to its particular use and treatment of the *waw* in rendering the Hebrew text. It is slightly surprising to note that, unlike the other two versions which omit the conjunction comparatively often, RtgJob presents not a single, unequivocal example of an omission of the Hebrew *waw* which is unattested in the other Aramaic versions. The following example drawn from the Rabbinic targum's translation of Job 40:10 is one of only two possible locations where it might be argued that an omission has taken place.

40:10 עֲדָה נָא גֵאוֹן וְגִבָּה (ו) הָדוּר וְהָדָר תִּלְבָּשׁ:
 11Q10 הַעֲדִי נָא גֵוָה וְרֵם רוּחַ (ו) זִיּוּרָא וְהָדָר וִיקָר תִּלְבָּשׁ
 RtgJob אַתְקִין כְּדוֹן גִּיתַנְיָא וְגִבְהָא () (ו) זִיּוּרָא וְשִׁבְהוּרָא תִלְבָּשׁ:
 P-Job ܠܒܫ ܕܡܠܚܐ ܕܡܠܚܐ (ܐ) ܕܡܠܚܐ ܕܡܠܚܐ ܕܡܠܚܐ ܕܡܠܚܐ

Deck yourself with majesty and dignity; () clothe yourself with glory and splendour. (RSV, NRSV)

Although most Mss within the RtgJob textual tradition appear to have omitted the *epexegetical waw* which occurs between the two stichs of 40:10, some text witnesses (א ע ב א) do preserve a conjunction at this point. Setting aside for a moment the fact that such an omission would certainly constitute an exception to the targumist's usual treatment of the *waw*, it should be noted that the similarity of ז (first character of זִיּוּרָא) and ו may well have led to the omission of the conjunction through haplography at some point in the history of the targum text. While the evidence of recent English versions provides some evidence that the translation of this verse from Hebrew into another language may indeed allow for an omission of the conjunction, the strong possibility of a textual error here makes any such conclusion rather tentative.⁴⁴ Because the only two examples of unique omission provided by

⁴³ The question of why one translator chose one pair and one the other would appear to be difficult, if not impossible, to answer with any kind of certainty. While the Authorised Version has rendered the conjunction with a wooden 'and', the more recent English version chooses to omit the conjunction altogether. Other Syriac substitutions for Hebrew *waw* occur at 34:12 (׳פ) and 42:11 (-d). P-Job also shows a tendency to replace various Hebrew prepositions and particles with the simple Syriac *waw* when either the Hebrew text or its Syriac translation render the *waw* more contextually appropriate. See 32:11, 33:13, 36:24, 37:11.

⁴⁴ The other possible minus occurs at RtgJob 33:27. Although several Mss (ס מ ל ט) have omitted the *waw* conjunction before the verb form (יִמְרֵר), the majority of witnesses do preserve the conjunction (with both perfect and imperfect forms represented). While the confusion surrounding the function of the consecutive imperfect in this and surrounding passages (see 33:24 and 26), when coupled with P-Job's addition of an imperfect verb here, should caution against dismissing the possibility that the translator has intentionally omitted this conjunction, the pos-

RtgJob are only partially attested in the textual tradition, it seems safe to conclude that what little evidence there is of *waw* omission in RtgJob is of a dubious nature.

C2. *Plus*

While the evidence of the omission of *waw* in RtgJob's translation is questionable due to textual variants, there are indisputable additions of the *waw* in the Rabbinic targum text which do not appear in the other Aramaic versions. The number of locations where such additions are present are however relatively few in comparison with the Qumran and Syriac versions and occur primarily in passages of a type illustrated by this example from Job 25:2:⁴⁵

25:2 הַמֶּשֶׁל (וְ)פָחַד עִמּוֹ עֶשֶׂה שְׁלוֹם בְּמִרְמָיו:

11Q10 [. . . ש.] לטן (ו)רבו עם אלהא ע[בד . . .] | [. . . במרו]מה

RtgJob שולטנא (ו)דלוחא גביה/עימיה/ עביד שלם בשמי מרמוה:
T1

RtgJob מיכאל מן ימיניה (ו)הוא דאשא (ו)גבריאל משמאליה (ו)הוא דמיא
T2 וברייתא קדישתא פתיכין אשתא ומיא (ו)בשולטנותיה (ו)דחלתיה
עביד שלמא בשמי שמיא/מרומא/ דיליה:

P-Job ܡܝܚܐܠ ܡܢ ܝܡܝܢܝܗ (ܘ)ܗܘܐ ܕܐܫܬܐ ܒܫܘܠܬܢܘܬܝܗ (ܘ)ܕܚܠܬܝܗ ܥܒܝܕ ܫܠܡܐ ܒܫܡܝܐ/ܡܪܘܡܐ/ ܕܝܠܝܗ.

RtgJob in addition to providing a proximate rendering of 25:2 in T1, also provides a divergent interpretation (T2) which results in a radically expanded version. On closer scrutiny however it appears that the expanded T2 includes the supplementary material along with a formally literal rendering of the Hebrew. The translator renders the first MT term הַמֶּשֶׁל, 'dominion', with the expansion גַּבְרִיאֵל מִן יְמִינִיהּ (ו)הוּא דְּאֵשׁ, 'Michael on his left and he is of fire . . .', and later in the same verse with a second more literal equivalent, (ו)בְּשׁוּלְטָנִיָּה, 'and with his dominion'. The second term in MT, (ו)פָּחַד, 'and fear . . .', is understood by the RtgJob translator first as (ו)גַּבְרִיאֵל מִשְׁמַאֲלִיָּה, 'and Gabriel on his right and he is of water . . .', and then again later as (ו)דְּחַלְתִּיָּה, 'and his fearfulness'. It is not the content of the expansions which interests us at this point. Rather, our concern here is with the translator's use of the *waw*.⁴⁶ All the Aramaic versions, including RtgJob, preserve

sibility of confusion between *waw* and *yodh* suggests that this may be an erroneous omission on the part of one portion of the RtgJob textual tradition. For full list of variants see D. Stec, *The Text of the Targum of Job*.

⁴⁵ Unlike the cases described below where the addition of the *waw* appears to be linked to other 'prior' concerns, RtgJob's addition of the *waw* at 40:12 appears to be an isolated (i.e. 'genuine') plus which is also represented in many English versions (e.g. NIV: 'Look at every proud man and humble him . . .').

⁴⁶ C. Mangan, *The Targum of Job*, p. 16 n. iv, has observed that the introduction of references to angels is not uncommon in RtgJob. In addition to Michael and Gabriel, Sammael is also mentioned by name in RtgJob (28:7). R. Weiss, *התרגום הארמי לספר איוב*, p. 253, provides evidence that the understanding of these two Hebrew terms as angels is well attested in Midrashic sources and Rabbinic literature in general. See for example *Tanhuma* ויגש 6; *Zohar* (Leviticus) 12b; for further citations see Weiss, p. 253 n.117. Interestingly the correspondences of 'Michael' with 'fire'

the phrasal *waw* which links the first two Hebrew terms (enclosed in ()). In RtgJob's case both proximate and supplemented translations are linked with the *waw*. But while 11Q10 and P-Job represent only the phrasal *waw* which appears between the two initial terms in the MT, the translator of RtgJob provides several additional conjunctions unrelated to the 'translation' of the Hebrew. The inclusion of interpretative material has led the translator to introduce these additional conjunctions (enclosed in { }) which facilitate the integration of this 'supplementary material' with the 'translation' into a single unit.⁴⁷

C3. *Substitution*

The translator of RtgJob does not show any otherwise unattested substitutions of *waw*.

D. Summary: Modifications unique to the respective Aramaic Versions

The material presented thus far enables us to at least begin to answer the first question posed in the introduction, namely, 'How do the translators responsible for the Aramaic translations of the Hebrew book of Job treat and represent the *waw* conjunction in their respective renderings?'

Although both the Qumran and Syriac translations show otherwise unattested omissions both at the beginning of verses and medially, the Qumran translation tends to uniquely omit an initial *waw* (A1) when it appears at the beginning of a new section of Hebrew text. The majority of P-Job's unique omissions (B1) however come where the Hebrew text uses the *waw* to conjoin simple verbal clauses. In contrast to these versions, RtgJob provides only two possible cases where the *waw* may have been omitted (C1).

With respect to the addition of the conjunction, both 11Q10 and the Peshitta of Job provide numerous unique examples of the *waw* being supplied where it is not present in the MT. Both supply the *waw* medially (A2, B2) in order to establish an explicit coordinative link between two or more stichs as well as adding it verse-initially to facilitate a linkage with a preceding verse or verses. While 11Q10 and P-Job supply the conjunction in divergent translations in order to integrate supplementary material only on rare occasions, RtgJob's fewer additions of the *waw* occur almost exclusively in precisely these situations (C2). Furthermore, on the basis of the material studied, it appears that the Rabbinic targum (unlike the other two versions) virtually never provides the conjunction at the beginning or medially as a result of purely linguistic/stylistic considerations.

Analysis of the Aramaic versions' unique substitutions with respect to *waw*

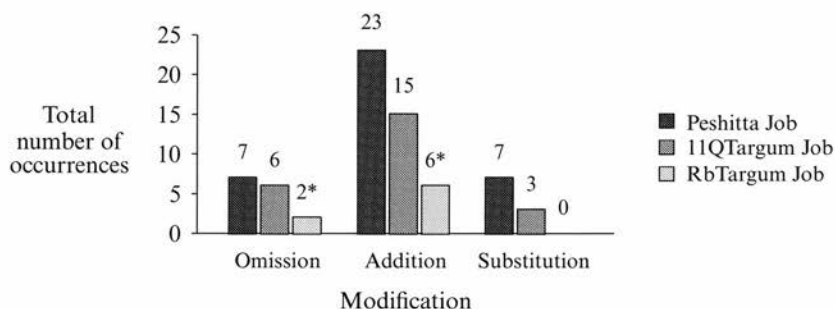
and 'Gabriel' with 'water' attested to by the targum are reversed in much of the Rabbinic material. Again it is difficult to determine whether the targum is the source of the material or whether the translator has drawn on rabbinic sources or traditions common to both.

⁴⁷ At 24:24 RtgJob also provides an additional *waw* where an interpretative rendering is offered. A *waw* is also added by this translator in his rendering of 33:29 where the divergence of all three Aramaic versions is probably due to a shared (i.e. linguistic) inability to provide a proximate rendering of the Hebrew.

shows that the Syriac translation (B3) and that of Qumran (A3) occasionally provide a contextually appropriate substitution for the MT conjunction and will also replace an element in the Hebrew with the Aramaic *waw* under the influence of linguistic and stylistic constraints. The Rabbinic Targum of Job however shows no evidence of either type of substitution with respect to this conjunction (C3).

A glance at Figure 1 below shows that 11Q10 and Peshitta Job show far more unique divergences in each category than does the Rabbinic Targum of Job.⁴⁸ While the number of omissions in the Qumran and Peshitta texts is nearly identical, P-Job provides significantly more instances of addition and substitution than does 11QTargumJob. It is RtgJob however which seems to stand apart from the other two in terms of its unique treatment of the *waw* conjunction. As is the case in the other Aramaic versions, additions make up the largest single category, but it is important to note that the nature of RtgJob's additions differs significantly in that the *waw* appears to be added almost exclusively when the targumist is in 'supplementary mode' and not when he is strictly speaking 'translating' the Hebrew. In fact, when the lack of even a single substitution and the dubious nature of the Rabbinic targum's two examples of omission are both taken into account, it may be suggested that in its treatment of the *waw*, the Rabbinic targum is scrupulously literal in comparison with the other Aramaic versions.⁴⁹

Figure 1: *Unique Treatment of the ׀-Conjunction in the Aramaic Versions*



III. *Modifications Shared by Two or More Aramaic Versions*

Having looked at the way in which the three Aramaic Versions of Job treat the *waw* in different textual locations, it now remains to examine the relationships which obtain between the respective versions in this regard. We turn therefore

⁴⁸ An asterisked figure has been used for RtgJob's total omissions (2*) to highlight the partial attestation of the modification in the textual witnesses. The total number of additions (6*) has also been provided with an asterisk, but in the latter case it is to point up the fundamental difference between the nature of the additions made by RtgJob (primarily in non-translational material) and the other two Aramaic versions (a translational response to linguistic/stylistic constraints).

⁴⁹ The significance of this finding will be examined in part IV below.

to instances where two or more of the Aramaic versions appear to treat or represent the *waw* in the same manner in relation to the Masoretic Text.

A. Modifications common to 11Q10, RtgJob and P-Job

In light of RtgJob's demonstrated lack of unique deviations, it is perhaps not entirely surprising that the number of instances where the treatment of the *waw* is similar in all three Aramaic versions is quite low. In fact, the single shared omission and total lack of common substitutions amongst the three versions, parallels RtgJob's preference for addition as opposed to omission or substitution.

A1. *Minus common to 11Q10, RtgJob and P-Job*

The only omission shared by all three Aramaic versions is found at Job 36:26:

36:26	הַן-אֵל שֵׁנִיָּא וְלֹא נִדְעַ מְסַפֵּר שְׁנֵי (וְ) לֹא-חֶקֶר:
11Q10	הא אלהא רב הוא וימוהין סגיא. . [דע ומנן שנוהי () די-לא סוף
RtgJob	הא אלהא סג וְלֹא נִדְעַ סְכּוּם שְׁנוּהִי () לִית סוֹף:
P-Job	ܡܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܥܡܡ ܡܐ ܐܠܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܚܘܬܐ ܥܬܡܐ, () ܠܬ ܣܘܦܐ

Behold, God is great, and we know him not; the number of his years (is) unsearchable. (RSV)

As is the case at 34:24, where this same Hebrew expression also occurs, all three Aramaic versions here provide renderings which deviate from their Hebrew source text. In the final clause of the Hebrew text of Job 36:26, the *waw* conjunction appears to introduce the predicate⁵⁰ (so RSV, NRSV etc.) and thus understood serves no purpose in the Aramaic/Syriac renderings—all of which show a negated verbless clause.⁵¹ All three Aramaic translators have therefore omitted this *waw* in an attempt to come to grips with an unusual Hebrew text and create an intelligible target text for their readers/hearers. While both P-Job and the Qumran translation omit the conjunction on numerous occasions, this sole instance of a common omission amongst the three Aramaic versions constitutes the only certain example of omission of the conjunction in the Rabbinic targum.

A2. *Plus common to 11Q10, RtgJob and P-Job*

It is interesting and of some significance perhaps, that the three clear examples of an addition shared by all three versions, occur within the space of three verses in chapter 32.⁵² While the fragmentary nature of 11Q10's rendering of

⁵⁰ S. R. Driver and G. B. Gray, *The Book of Job* (1921), p. 282.

⁵¹ At 5:9 and 9:10, חֶקֶר is negated with the expected particle Hebrew particle (אֵין) and rendered accordingly by both RtgJob (דלית) and P-Job (dl'). At Job 34:24 (לֹא-חֶקֶר), however, the cognate Aramaic verbal negation particle is employed with no variation in the renderings of RtgJob and P-Job.

⁵² All three versions do provide a *waw* between 37:11a and b, but in the case of RtgJob it is apparent from the Mss (see D. Stec, p. 259) that the addition of the conjunction is directly linked to a supplementation of the Hebrew text וּרְיָח, 'and the wind (scatters the cloud of its/his rain)', by the translator. This further illustrates the tendency outlined above: whereas 11Q10 and P-Job will provide *waw* frequently to conjoin independent propositions, RtgJob primarily uses it

32:15 complicates any comparison with both the MT and the other versions, the following verse 16 of the same chapter provides ample illustration:

32:16	וְהוֹחֲלֵתִי כִּי-לֹא יִדְבְּרוּ כִּי עֲמָדוּ () לֹא-עֲנוּ עוֹד:
11Q10	קמו (ו)לא ימללון עוד. . . [
RtgJob	ואורייכית ארום לא ימללון שתקון קמו (ו)לא אותיבו טוב:
P-Job	חלל דלא מחלל. מחלל דמחל (א)חלל לא באחמס.

When I had waited, for they spake not, but stood still, ([and]) answered no more;
AV

And am I to wait, because they do not speak, because they stand there, (and)
answer no more? (NRSV)

While the MT merely juxtaposes the positive and succeeding negative propositions, all three Aramaic versions provide the *waw* which then serves to explicitly co-ordinate the phrases in translation ('... they stand there, (and) answer no more?'). Similarly in 32:13, where a positive verbal clause is followed by a negative clause in the MT (אֵל יִדְפֹנוּ לֹא-אִישׁ: 'God will/may vanquish him, not man'), all three Aramaic versions of Job again provide the *waw* conjunction. And, as already mentioned, a similar situation seems to be behind the shared addition of the conjunction at 32:15.⁵³ Although in verse 15, 11Q10 does not preserve the actual negative particle in its Aramaic rendering, the MT behind the translation (חֲמוּ לֹא-עֲנוּ עוֹד, 'they are discomfited; they do not answer') is again a positive verbal clause followed by a negative one.⁵⁴ The fact that the usually conservative translator of RtgJob has joined the other two versions in providing the conjunction here may perhaps be taken as an indication that the normal constraints of fidelity to the Hebrew text have for whatever reason been overridden by a desire for idiomatic Aramaic.⁵⁵ One caveat must nevertheless be raised with regard to RtgJob's additions in all three of these verses: the fact that these additions, as was the case with the targum's unique omissions, are not found uniformly across the Mss tradition of RtgJob raises questions regarding the originality of the additions. When viewed in the light of the other Aramaic versions however, the weight of the textual evidence does seem to support RtgJob's divergence from the MT here in chapter 32.⁵⁶

in situations where the Hebrew text has been supplemented or altered for other reasons. At 39:1, where both 11Q10 and P-Job add the *waw* between the two halves of the verse, RtgJob provides a different conjunction (כִּי).

⁵³ The odd verse out in this sequence, 32:14, also contains negative propositions, but they are both introduced by *waw* in the MT.

⁵⁴ Although it is by no means certain because the end of the preceding line is not preserved, most commentators (see for instance *Editio princeps*, p. 53) have assumed that 11Q10 והחשיו 'they were silent', corresponds to Heb. לֹא-עֲנוּ עוֹד, 'they did not answer again'. If so, this is an example of 11Q10 opting for an interpretative translation much like P-Job utilised in 32:11 (interpreting יהוהֲלֵתִי 'I waited', as meaning *stqt*, 'I was silent').

⁵⁵ Also interesting is P-Job's tendency to provide the conjunction in the context outlined above, while nevertheless omitting the *waw* between simple verbal clauses (see B1 above).

⁵⁶ 32:13—majority reading=*waw* plus; exceptions (א ב ג ל ס ע); 32:15—majority reading=*waw* plus; exceptions (ב ג); 32:16—majority reading=*waw* plus; exception (ע).

B. Modifications unique to 11Q10 and RtgJob

B1. *Plus common to 11Q10 and RtgJob*

Again we find that it is only in their addition (rather than substitution or omission) of *waw* that the Qumran translator and Rabbinic Targum translator find any common ground which is not also attested in P-Job. In fact, only one such addition occurs and it does so in the respective translations of 37:13:

37:13 (אם-לְשֹׁבֵט) (אם-לְאַרְצוֹ) (אם-לְחֶסֶד יִמְצֵאֶהוּ):

11Q10 הן למכתש | הן לארעא הן לכפן
(ו)חסרנה (ו)הן פתגם חוב להוא | עליה

RtgJob אין מטרא דפורענותא בימא (ו)במדבר »א אין מיטרא רויא
לאילני טוריא (ו)גלימתא אין ניהא דחסדא לחקלי (ו)כרמי (ו)פירי
יספקניה:

P-Job אַ לְחֶסֶד (ו) אַ לְאַרְצָא. אַ לְשֹׁבֵט יִמְצֵאֶהוּ. ✠

Whether for correction, or for his land, or for love, he causes it to happen. (RSV)

This verse, coming at the end of a section detailing divine sovereignty over water in its various states (ice, rain etc.), suggests the various reasons for God's orchestration of the rain clouds (v. 12). While P-Job provides co-ordinating conjunctions before the latter two alternatives (*w'n l'hsyd', w'n l'r'*) as is the case in English ('or'), both the Qumran translation (2×) and RtgJob (3×) show their addition of conjunctions not in parallel with the Syriac translation but instead in sections which deviate (in RtgJob's case, substantially) from the Hebrew. For instance in RtgJob's expansion of Hebrew MT *אם-לְאַרְצוֹ*, 'for (the good of) the land' (*מִטְרָא רויא לאילני טוריא*), 'gushing rain for the trees of the mountains and the hills'⁵⁷ the targumist supplies a *waw* to co-ordinate the final two nouns. Similarly in the translation of MT *אם-לְחֶסֶד* with *אין ניהא דחסדא לחקלי וכרמי ופירי*, 'or soft [rain] of charity/kindness for the fields and the vineyards and fruit', RtgJob provides two conjunctions which serve the same purpose. We see that in RtgJob's rendering of each Hebrew clause, the *waw* has been provided at least once. However, the additions have come not *between* clauses as in P-Job but between phrases which form part of the targumist's expanded translation. The Qumran version's double rendering of MT *אם-לְחֶסֶד*, 'or for mercy/love', with *הן לכפן וחסרנה*, 'or for a famine and for its want',⁵⁸ also shows the use of *waw* to co-ordinate supplementary material with translation. The following words in 11Q10, *והן פתגם חוב*, 'and if (i.e. or) a case of law-breaking',⁵⁹ have no equivalent in the MT and the motivation for their addition is unclear.

⁵⁷ C. Mangan, *The Targum of Job*, p. 81 n. 9.

⁵⁸ *Editio princeps*, p. 68, suggests that the translator here has provided a double rendering based on *חסר*, 'lack, want'. It is difficult to determine whether the translator has made an error here or alternatively has seen the exchange of *resh* for *daleth* as a means of making sense of the verse.

⁵⁹ Reading here with F. Martinez *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 11*, pp. 145, 146. These later editors have support for this reading from Tg Onk Exod 22:8 (equiv to MT *דבר פשע*).

Again, as is the case in RtgJob, the *waw* is here being used in the Qumran translation to introduce material with no correspondence in the Hebrew.⁶⁰ While this example of a modification shared by 11Q10 and RtgJob shows that the Qumran translator may also use *waw* to incorporate material and divergent interpretation into his translation, the fact that this is the sole instance to be found in the sample confirms that unlike RtgJob, this is not the primary cause for the Qumran translator's introduction of the conjunction across the version as a whole.

C. Modifications unique to RtgJob and P-Job

There are no instances of modifications of the *waw* shared by these two versions alone.⁶¹

D. Modifications unique to 11Q10 and P-Job

D1. *Minus*

At three locations within the sample, both the Qumran and Syriac translations appear to omit the *waw* which is present in the MT and also preserved by the Rabbinic Targum.⁶² At 21:25 for example both versions fail to represent the *waw* which appears at the beginning of the verse in the MT:

(ו) זֶה יָמוּת בְּנֶפֶשׁ מָרָה וְלֹא-אָכַל בְּטוֹבָה: 21:25

() דִּין יָמוּת בְּנֶפֶשׁ [. . .] | [. . .] אָכַל 11Q10

(ו) דִּין יָמוּת בְּנֶפֶשׁ מָרִירָא וְלֹא אָכַל בְּטַבְתָּא: RtgJob

() מֵאֵל נִבְחַם בְּנֶפֶשׁ מָרָה. מֵאֵל אָכַל בְּטַבְתָּא P-Job

() Another dies in bitterness of soul, never having tasted of good. (RSV, NRSV)⁶³

Verses 23–25 of chapter 21 come at the end of a sustained argument offered by Job: divine justice which allows the wicked to live long and prosper while deferring their punishment to their children is no justice at all. Verse 23 and 24 describe the demise of the prosperous evildoer ('One dies in full prosperity, being wholly at ease and secure . . . etc') while verse 25 brings home the full force of Job's complaint. One commentator has suggested that the translator of 11Q10 may have omitted the *waw* before the demonstrative due to the Qumran translator's preceding omission of v. 23.⁶⁴ However, P-Job's similar

⁶⁰ 11Q10's final addition does show some similarity to the usage in P-Job, however the *waw* introduces a clause rather than a phrase.

⁶¹ This conclusion substantiates the suggestion of H. Szpek, 'On the influence of the Targum on the Peshitta . . .', p. 144, that RtgJob tends to follow the MT more closely in its representation of the *waw* than does the Peshitta of Job.

⁶² At 34:29, both 11Q10 and P-Job lack the conjunction where it occurs in MT before an apodosis (MT: וְיִסְתַּר פָּנָיו וְיִיָּשְׁרוּ) and also omit a subsequent occurrence of the *waw* in this verse. As we have seen above (B2), this treatment of the conjunction before an apodosis has already been documented in P-Job. English translations such as ASV, NIV, RSV and NRSV also omit this conjunction in their renderings of the Hebrew text.

⁶³ The conjunction is however preserved by revisions of the KJV up to and including the ASV.

⁶⁴ B. E. Zuckerman, *The Process of Translation . . .*, p. 197, notes that verse 23 indeed

omission of the conjunction here suggests that it is more likely that the *waw* has been considered stylistically unnecessary by the Qumran translator irrespective of the presence or absence of verse 23 in the Qumran version.⁶⁵ Again at 21:4, neither the Qumran nor Syriac translator includes the *waw* where it appears between stichs in the Hebrew verse (וְאִם-מְדוּעַ) (לֹא-תִקְצֹר רוּחִי: הֲאֵנֹכִי לְאָדָם שִׁחִי). Many English versions based on the MT similarly omit this conjunction in translation (i.e. RSV 'As for me, is my complaint against man?') () Why should I not be impatient?') despite its presence in the source text.

D2. *Plus*

While the Qumran and Syriac translations share only a few common omissions, such is not the case with additions made by both translators at the same juncture in their translation of the Hebrew text. As both the Qumran and Syriac translators show the addition of the *waw* in verse-initial positions independently, it is not entirely surprising that both also provide the conjunction at identical locations in their respective Aramaic target texts. One example is to be found at 23:5 where Job responds to Eliphaz with a plea that his case might be heard,

() 23:5 אִדְעָה מַלְיָם יַעֲנֵי וְאַבְינָה מֶה-יֹאמֶר לִי:

11Q10 (ו) אַנְדַּע [. . .] וְאַסְתַּכַּל מֵא יֹאמֶר לִי

RtgJob () אַנְדַּע מַלְיָא יַתְבִּינִי וְאַתְבִּינִי מֵה יִימֶר לִי:

P-Job (א) גִּבְעֵס דִּגְ מַנָּא חֹסֵא מַסֵּא לִי. מַסְבֵּכִי מַסֵּס מַנָּא חֹסֵא מַסֵּא לִי.

() I would learn what he would answer me, and understand what he would say to me (RSV)

The motivation for such an addition is to be found in the semantic and structural links between verse 5 and the preceding verse 4 ('I would lay my case before him and fill my mouth with arguments'). Clearly both translators have concluded that the addition of a *waw* is required to reflect the perceived relationship between the sets of stichs.⁶⁶ In three other verses within the sample, both the Qumran and Peshitta translators provide the *waw* at the beginning of the verse where the MT does not attest it and the Rabbinic targum does not supply it.⁶⁷ Even more common however are the instances where both translators appear to have felt the need to supply the *waw* conjunction medially in verses—primarily between successive stichs in a single verse. This shared response to a perceived lack of explicit conjunction in MT is illustrated

missing from 11Q10, there would be no need for 'a contrasting conjunction at the beginning of the latter verse [i.e. 25]'. P-Job, however, does not appear to require the conjunction, despite maintaining vv. 23–25.

⁶⁵ H. Szpek, *Translation Technique in the Peshitta to Job* . . . , p. 121, notes: 'often in [P-Job] where both stichs of a verse begin with the *waw* conjunctive, the second will almost universally be preserved—indicating that the translator viewed it as an immediate continuation of the previous stich—but the first *waw* will only be preserved if that verse begins a new topical unit or if the entire verse is a direct continuation of the previous one.'

⁶⁶ For P-Job's unique additions of this type, see p. 97 above.

⁶⁷ See also 33:27, 38:29 and 40:13.

by Job 33:11:

33:11 יִשָּׁם בַּסֵּד רְגְלָי () יִשְׁמַר כָּל-אַרְחָתַי:
 11Q10 [. . .] שׁוֹא בַסְדָּא רְגְלִי (ו) סכר כל [. . .]
 RtgJob יְשׁוּי בְשִׁיעַ רְגְלִי () ינטר כל שבילי:
 P-Job חֲסֵת בַּסְדָּא דְגַל (א) חֲלַסְתָּ חֲסֵתְךָ

... he puts my feet in the stocks, (and) watches all my paths. (RSV, NRSV)

While many English versions such as the AV, ASV and NIV do not diverge from the MT in their translations of this verse, the revisers of the RSV and NRSV illustrate that the Aramaic translators are not alone in providing the *waw* in order to conjoin two functionally synonymous stichs which in the Hebrew are left merely apposed.⁶⁸ In fact at more than a dozen other locations both the Qumran and Syriac translators provide the conjunction at the same place vis-à-vis the Masoretic Text.⁶⁹ When combined with the initial plusses discussed above, these shared medial additions would seem to constitute a rather substantial agreement of approach between the Qumran and Peshitta translators.

D3. Substitution

Substitutions shared exclusively by 11Q10 and P-Job also occur but with less frequency than common additions and their analysis is, in any case, less clear-cut. At 21:7 both translators provide a *waw* in place of the Hebrew גַּם:

21:7 מְדוּעַ רָשָׁעִים יַחֲיוּ עֲתָקוּ (גַּם)-וְגִבְרוּ חֵיל:
 11Q10 [. . .] | (ו) חֲסִיגִיו נִכְסִין
 RtgJob מַה דִּין רְשִׁיעִיא יִיחֹן אַתְקִיפּוּ (לחוד) קְנוּ נִכְסִין:
 P-Job מַה דִּין רְשִׁיעִיא יִיחֹן אַתְקִיפּוּ (א) חֲסִיגִיו נִכְסִין

Why do the wicked live, reach old age, (and) grow mighty in power? (RSV, NRSV)

Neither 11Q10 nor P-Job include the Heb. particle גַּם, 'also', in their translations, preferring instead to restructure the second half of verse 7 through the use of a conjunction (in P-Job before the preceding verbal form *m'tqyn*, 'grow old'). Although capable of serving in different capacities, this Hebrew particle here appears to function as little more than a co-ordinator and is in

⁶⁸ Both 11Q10 and P-Job diverge from the MT in not preserving an imperfect in their Aramaic/Syriac translations. The translator of 11Q10 however—in his translation of MT יִשְׁמַר, 'he kept, guarded, observed, restrained etc.'—provides a more specific rendering, וְסָכַר, 'he blocked', under the influence of the semantic environment (feet withheld in stocks) in order to smooth out a rare Hebrew construction. For more extensive discussion regarding the renderings in the respective versions, see F. Martinez *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 11* (DJD 23), p. 130. See H. Szpek, *Translation Technique in the Peshitta to Job* . . . , pp. 182–83.

⁶⁹ See 33:9, 25; 36:25, 26, 27; 38:24; 39:7, 21, 25, 26; 40:8, 30; 41:26. At 37:14, both 11Q10 and P-Job show a medial addition which reflects an uncertainty about the precise division of the verse into stichs.

fact translated as such by some English translators.⁷⁰ The fact that both translators have performed the same substitution here (*waw* for וְ) is evidence that both Qumran and Peshitta translators have understood the nuance of the Hebrew and provided the *waw* conjunction as a means of rendering the source text into idiomatic Aramaic/Syriac. Other shared substitutions are prompted by an interest in the idiomatic Aramaic rendering of exclamatory particles⁷¹ and indicators of alternation.⁷²

E. Summary: Modifications Shared by Two or More Aramaic Versions

What light does the preceding analysis shed on the question of how the various Aramaic versions relate to each other in terms of their treatment of this conjunction? (See Figure 2.) While all three Aramaic versions do, on rare occasion, modify their source text in the same manner at the same location, the number of such occurrences is comparatively small. The single shared omission (A1) appears to be a common response to a difficult Hebrew text, while the handful of shared plusses (A2) occur under a specific set of circumstances (positive clause+negative clause) in the source text. In this case, the priority of fidelity to the formal features of the MT so readily apparent in RtgJob has been overridden by the demands of a linguistically intelligible Aramaic rendering.

The single instance of a plus being shared by the two 'targums' (11Q10 and RtgJob) indicates that the Qumran translator may also on rare occasion use *waw* to incorporate divergent interpretations into his translation. It is significant to note that this agreement does not reflect an alteration of RtgJob's policy towards the addition of the *waw*, but represents a departure from the Qumran translator's primary linguistic/stylistic motivation for supplying the conjunction.

The lack of a single agreement between the Syriac translation of Job and the Rabbinic targum of Job suggests that except in the extremely isolated cases discussed above, the two Rabbinic and Syriac translators have little in common in their treatment of the *waw* conjunction in Job.

By contrast however, the Qumran 'targum' and the Peshitta of Job show a significant number of shared modifications. While the number of common omissions (3) and substitutions (3) are significant in the light of the other relationships shown on Figure 2, it is the shared plusses which constitute by far the single largest category (19). In fact, a comparison of Figures 1 and 2 show that, of the total number of *waw* additions made by the Qumran translator,

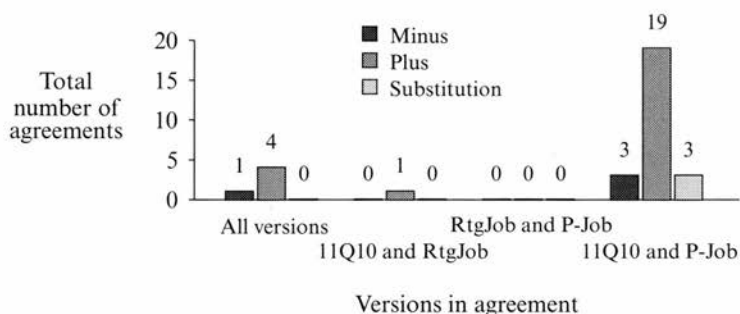
⁷⁰ B. Waltke and M. O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, 39.3.4a, Example no. 12 (Isa. 14:7–8). The other major Hebrew adverbial coordinator, וְכִי, may also function purely as a coordinator (Isaiah 41:10).

⁷¹ 36:30.

⁷² Both translators provide *waw* for Hebrew וְ at 39:10 where it introduces an alternative following an interrogative. While both translators deviate from MT in marking alternatives at 40:9 and 40:25, the manner in which they do so is not strictly speaking identical and therefore, although they are obviously responding to the same 'problem' in the Hebrew, they are not included in the total for this category.

more are shared with the Peshitta of Job than are unique to 11Q10.

Figure 2: *Modifications of ו-Conjunction shared by Two or more Aramaic Versions*



As with the comparison of the unique treatment of *waw* (Section II), an analysis of the Aramaic versions shared treatment of the conjunction strongly suggests that it is the Qumran and Syriac translators who line up together in their willingness to omit, substitute and, most frequently, add the conjunction in order to produce an idiomatic Aramaic rendering of the Hebrew. The Rabbinic targum of Job by contrast shows a remarkable fidelity to the Masoretic text in its representation of the *waw*. The restriction of RtgJob's addition of the conjunction to what might be called 'non-translational' passages, when coupled with the almost complete lack of substitutions and omissions of the *waw* leads to the inevitable conclusion that it is by this measure at least, the most 'literal' of the Aramaic versions of Job.

Before turning to a discussion of the possible implications of the above conclusion, we would do well to first consider a methodological question which has been postponed until now.⁷³ It may have been noted that the foregoing discussion has alternated indiscriminately between two sets of terminology in describing the network of relationships between the respective Aramaic versions and their putative Hebrew *Vorlagen*. It is obvious that theoretically neutral terms such as 'plus' and 'minus' need not necessarily reflect the translator's activity suggested by 'addition' and 'omission'. To unpack this statement and rephrase it in the form of a question: what is the likelihood that it is the respective *Vorlagen* which are largely to blame for the Qumran and Syriac translator's common divergence from the MT?⁷⁴ Is a recent commentator correct when he suggests that it is impossible to determine whether the

⁷³ See 'Preliminary Discussions' above.

⁷⁴ Apart from a single instance (see above, e.g. RtgJob 40:10) in which it is quite possible that the modification of the *waw* stems from a copyist's error (i.e. during the history of the Aramaic text), the present study finds no evidence that the divergent treatment of the *waw* has resulted from errors or alterations made during the copying of the present Aramaic texts from previous Aramaic *Vorlagen*. Therefore the use of *Vorlage* is restricted to the putative Hebrew texts which lay before the respective translators.

omission of the *waw* has any text critical significance?⁷⁵ It is hoped that the material provided thus far has shown that we have grounds for a slightly more optimistic view of the situation. It seems evident that the similarities in the divergence of 11Q10 and P-Job from MT in terms of the minus and plus of *waw* stem primarily from translator intervention. For methodological reasons however, consideration must be given to the question of whether or not the strong affinity between P-Job and 11Q10 over and against RtgJob with regard to the *waw* is the result, not of common linguistic/stylistic constraints but rather of a largely similar Hebrew *Vorlage*. While it is beyond the scope of the present study to present all the relevant evidence, a few considerations make the similar *Vorlage* theory unlikely.⁷⁶ A comparison of linguistic/stylistic modifications in 11Q10 and P-Job present many other shared phenomena. Both 11Q10 and P-Job show numerous shared modifications of other minor functional units⁷⁷ (apparently required in Aramaic but not in Hebrew), thus the addition and omission of the *waw* fits within the general translation profile of both versions. In addition, in the area of syntax the texts also display syntactical and word order divergences which may or may not alter the meaning but often result in considerable textual dislocation.⁷⁸ It seems to stretch the limits of credulity to suggest that the common grammatical adjustments, shared syntactic modifications and similar treatment of the *waw* could have already been made in both the Hebrew *Vorlagen* of these two independent Aramaic versions. The fact that many of these modifications would not necessarily be expected in Biblical Hebrew but coincidentally happen to produce entirely acceptable Aramaic in both versions lends further weight to the argument against the positing of a common *Vorlage*.⁷⁹ All in all, it seems most

⁷⁵ B. E. Zuckerman, *The Process of Translation* . . . , p. 351. It should be noted that this conclusion might well have been altered had Zuckerman's exhaustive treatment of the Qumran targum been extended beyond the first 15 columns.

⁷⁶ Notwithstanding scholarly reservations regarding the utility and significance of the variants preserved in the Kennicott and De Rossi collections (see, for instance, E. Würthwein, *The Text of the Old Testament*, 2nd edn (1995), pp. 40–41), the 18th-century collations do apparently provide ample evidence of the lack of uniformity in the transmission history of the text. Interestingly, it is the modifications which are shared by all three Aramaic versions (e.g. addition before negative phrases: 32:13, 15, 16; omission of *waw* at 36:26) which are also supported by the Hebrew MSS (Ken. 18, 80, 166 *et al.* also supply the *waw*; of these only MS 18 also omits at 36:26). Other parallels such as P-Job's double omission of the conjunction between simple verbal phrases at 38:3 (MS Ken. 196) do occur, but where the Syriac translator is quite consistent in omitting the conjunction in similar linguistic contexts (40:7, 11 and 42:4) the Hebrew MSS show no deviation from the MT. In general then, the sporadic nature of the Hebrew MS modifications provides a stark contrast to the more extensive, systemic agreements found in 11Q10 and P-Job. Furthermore, the fact that substitutions of *waw* (both Aramaic X for Heb. *waw* and Aramaic *waw* for Heb. X) seem to lack parallels in the Hebrew MSS would seem to establish beyond a reasonable doubt that it is the translators' flexibility with regard to the representation of the conjunction which is responsible for their deviations from the MT.

⁷⁷ See for example 37:13 (omission of suffix), 37:17 (modification of relative pronoun), 39:4 (substitution of gender), 39:6 (modification of number), etc.

⁷⁸ See for instance 21:6, 27:2, 32:12, 33:12; transpositions e.g. 22:17, 42:1.

⁷⁹ Even if—against the run of evidence—one maintains that the differences between 11Q10 and P-Job are due to Hebrew source text variation, we are then still faced with the obvious implication that 11Q10 and P-Job stand apart from the Rabbinic Targum in terms of the type of *Vorlage* used. Assuming this unlikely scenario, the Rabbinic targum will have been based on a

likely that the demonstrated affinity of 11Q10 and P-Job over and against the Rabbinic Targum stems from a common response to the linguistic/stylistic demands of the Qumran and Peshitta translators' similar (but not identical) Aramaic dialects.

IV. *Wider Implications: the Aramaic versions of Job and the Definition of 'Targum'*

The remaining portion of this paper will be given over to a consideration of the final question posed in the introduction, namely: What light, if any, does the present analysis shed on the wider questions of the definition of 'targum' and the classification of the Aramaic versions? The field of targumic studies has benefited recently from Alexander Samely's attempt to come to grips with questions of form and genre in the Pentateuchal targumim.⁸⁰ While the present study deals with neither translations of the Pentateuch nor targumim exclusively, the preceding comparison of Aramaic versions may provide a useful testing ground for some of the conclusions Samely arrives at with regard to the literary form of 'targum'.⁸¹ According to Samely, the priority of the preservation of the original wording of the Hebrew leads the targumist to overwhelmingly favour the presentation of exegesis in his translation text through *additions* to the text as opposed to *omissions*.⁸² Because 'Targum is an Aramaic narrative paraphrase of the biblical text in exegetical dependence on its wording', the targumist is careful to preserve as much of the Hebrew original as possible, while at the same time presenting the results of his exegesis of the original text largely through expansions in the Aramaic text.⁸³ If we turn to the conclusions arrived at here with regard to RtgJob, we see that the basic characteristics of 'targum' arrived at in the Pentateuch by Samely seem also to hold true for the Rabbinic Targum of Job. As we have seen, RtgJob deviates from the MT in its representation of the *waw* almost exclusively in situations where it is incorporating divergent material into its Aramaic text rather than, as is primarily the case with the other two versions, in response

MT-text type, while both 11Q10 and P-Job will have made use of Hebrew texts which are: (a) remarkably similar in their minuses and plusses of *waw* vis-à-vis MT, and (b) noticeably divergent from the MT.

⁸⁰ A. Samely, *The Interpretation of Speech in the Pentateuchal Targums* (1992).

⁸¹ A. Samely, *The Interpretation of Speech* . . . , p. 159, in fact suggests as much when he tentatively notes: 'I deliberately avoid the label "targum" in connexion with the Qumran Job, because on the basis of the characteristics of targumic form established in this study, it seems to belong to the group of translations mentioned [LXX, Peshitta, Vulgate] and not to that of the targumic texts [Ps-J, N, M, O, F and C]'.

⁸² A single example of omission amongst the 100 passages analysed by Samely does not prevent him from stating this tendency in particularly strong terms: '... the purposeful omission of parts of the Hebrew ... is practically never employed' (p. 74).

⁸³ A. Samely, *The Interpretation of Speech* . . . , pp. 180–81. On the relationship of targumic 'supplements' to a basically literal translation see P. A. Alexander, 'The Targumim and the Rabbinic rules for the Delivery of the Targum', *VTSupps* 36 (1985), pp. 14–28; D. Shepherd, 'A(nother) Look at the Targumic Versions of Genesis 4:3–16', *Journal of the Aramaic Bible* 1 (1999).

to the stylistic-linguistic demands of translating Hebrew into Aramaic.⁸⁴ As well, the omission of the *waw*—that smallest of lexemes in Hebrew—is virtually unattested in the Rabbinic targum of Job. This too seems to corroborate Samely's conclusions regarding targum's preservation of the formal features of the Hebrew text in Aramaic translation. On the other hand, Samely's observations seem not to apply to either the Qumran or Peshitta translations of Job. It is readily apparent that although these translators may retain a *waw* present in MT on a given occasion, it is often the case that both translators feel free to add, omit or substitute the conjunction in order to create an Aramaic translation which meets the linguistic-stylistic expectations of their intended audiences.

While Samely's treatment of the issues is limited to questions of literary form among the *targumim*—and more specifically the pentateuchal *targumim*, the present discussion of both Aramaic and Syriac versions may perhaps be brought into still greater focus by the late Michael Weitzman's comparison of the Targum and Peshitta of Chronicles.⁸⁵ In explaining what he sees as Peshitta Chronicles' 'loose' relationship to the MT he cites factors which may have been anterior to the translation (such as deficiencies in either the Hebrew *Vorlage* or in the translator's own knowledge of Hebrew) as well as subsequent considerations, such as inner-Syriac corruption. But, according to Weitzman, the difference between the Peshitta and Targum of Chronicles is, in fact more fundamental:

In the latter [i.e. the Rabbinic Targum of Chronicles], in principle, every element of the Hebrew source has a counterpart in the Aramaic rendering. It is true that the Jewish targums often present additional matter, which may relate in various ways to the Aramaic elements that have direct counterparts in the Hebrew text. It remains however, a basic characteristic of the Jewish targums that every element of the original is expounded, normally in the original order. The semantic link between each element in the original and its Aramaic counterpart in the targum is almost always clear; exceptions are so few that we should rather attribute them to our ignorance of the underlying exegetical process than deny that any semantic link ever existed.⁸⁶

Although Weitzman's specific treatment of the Aramaic versions of Chronicles may not be explored here in any detail, his comments regarding the classification of Peshitta Chronicles suggest that the above distinction is fundamental to his conclusion that 'one cannot maintain that P[eshitta] is a "pure Jewish targum" without having to revise drastically the definition of targum'.⁸⁷

With respect to the Aramaic versions of Job, it seems fair to say that up

⁸⁴ A. Samely, *The Interpretation of Speech* . . . , p. 174: 'A number of additions take the form of additional clauses, usually preceding the original sentence. In these cases, the new text is cohered with the parts reflecting the original by use of a conjunction like *waw*, thus imitating the style of the Hebrew text.'

⁸⁵ M. P. Weitzman, 'Is the Peshitta of Chronicles a Targum?', in P. Flesher (ed.), *Targum Studies*, pp. 159–93.

⁸⁶ M. P. Weitzman, 'Is the Peshitta of Chronicles a Targum?', p. 160.

⁸⁷ M. P. Weitzman, 'Is the Peshitta of Chronicles a Targum?', p. 192. Of all the material presented by Weitzman in favour of maintaining a firm distinction between Targum and non-Targumic versions of Chronicles, it is this formal distinction which is by far the most compelling.

until now the Qumran Aramaic translation of Job has usually been contrasted with the Rabbinic targum of Job (and the targumic tradition in general) as representing a more 'literal' rendering of the Hebrew text—more specifically: 11QtgJob lacks the substantial expansions which are found in the latter.⁸⁸ While the present paper does nothing to contest this distinction, it does offer a rather different perspective in suggesting that although RtgJob may indeed be more 'expansive' in the sense just outlined, it is, at the same time, far more 'literal' than either 11Q10 and the Peshitta of Job in terms of its consistent and scrupulous rendering of the Hebrew source text in 'translation' mode.⁸⁹ Although it would be incautious to forget that the assessment of translation approach must be undertaken on the basis of a broad range of indices, it is hoped that this analysis has provided evidence which strongly suggests that, in terms of its representation of the Hebrew text, the Aramaic translation from Qumran shares more with the Peshitta of Job than it does with its nominal cousin the Rabbinic Targum of Job.⁹⁰

To conclude then, we would wish to pose here a variant of the question Michael Weitzman has asked of the Peshitta of Chronicles: 'Is the Qumran Aramaic translation of Job a "targum"?' The question is of course at base a definitional one and therefore any answer to this question will be necessarily dependent on a particular understanding of the term 'targum' itself. Although this is neither the time nor the place for a thorough-going survey of the various meanings which have been assigned to the term 'targum', it is clear that this term may be stretched or contracted depending on who is using it.⁹¹ Klaus Beyer's introductory comments to his treatment of the Qumran

⁸⁸ See for instance M. Delcor, 'Le Targum de Job et L'Araméen du Temps de Jésus', *RevScRel*, p. 237: 'Il ne contient pas encore les paraphrases ou amplifications des targums postérieurs.' And most recently B. Zuckerman in a brief article for the *Anchor Bible Dictionary* (p. 868, III): 'By and large, the Cave 11 Targum seems to adhere to its Heb *Vorlage* quite closely, certainly far more closely than targums of the Palestinian tradition preserved by the early rabbis . . .'. See also *Editio Princeps*, p. 7, and J. Gray, 'The Massoretic Text of the Book of Job, the Targum and the Septuagint Version in the light of the Qumran Targum', *ZAW* 86 (1974), pp. 335–39.

⁸⁹ What would in normal usage constitute something of a paradox is entirely feasible as long as 'literal' and 'expansive' are not taken as polar opposites, but as complementary approaches which correspond to, in the first case, approach to translation, and in the latter, integration of additional textual material. This combination was identified as an essential feature of targumic rendering by at least the end of the nineteenth century (C. H. Cornill, *Das Buch des Propheten Ezechiel* (1886), p. 125: 'Also selbst bei der grossten Freiheit und bei der ungebundensten Wilkuer dem Geiste gegenueber die sklavischste Treue gegen den Buchstaben—das ist die Signatur des Targum!').

⁹⁰ It is hoped that a doctoral dissertation, nearing completion under the direction of Drs Peter Hayman and Timothy Lim (Edinburgh University), will provide further material to support the suggestion being advanced in the present paper.

⁹¹ P. Alexander, 'Targumim', *Anchor Bible Dictionary* VI, p. 321, provides a concise but typically illuminating summary of issues of terminology. While Alexander seems to favour the limitation of the term 'Targum' in biblical studies to early Jewish Aramaic translation of the Bible, the conclusions of A. Salvesen, *Symmachos in the Pentateuch* (1991), p. 297, regarding the Greek translator Symmachus' translation approach and use of Rabbinic exegesis lead her to refer to the version as 'a Greek Targum, or Tannaic Septuagint'. Raphael Weiss's monograph on RtgJob (התרגום הארמי לספר איוב) may perhaps offer a clue to one source of terminological 'confusion': while C. Mangan's English translation and annotation of the text is entitled simply *The Targum of Job*, the English summary of Weiss's work in Modern Hebrew is more specific, *The Aramaic Targum to Job*. Because in modern Hebrew תרגום may denote generic 'translation' (e.g.

Aramaic translations nicely illustrate this semantic elasticity:

By Targums one means Jewish Aramaic translations of the Old Testament, **in the broader sense also the Christian Aramaic ones**. There are Jewish Aramaic Targums to all the books of the Old Testament with the exceptions of Daniel, Ezra, and Nehemiah. The Samaritan Targum includes only the Pentateuch, the **Syrian Bible translation**, the entire OT.⁹² [*Author's trgm.*]

While Beyer is seemingly reluctant in practice to bestow upon the 'Syrian Bible translation' the title of 'targum' he nevertheless initially appears to extend the term to include 'Christian Aramaic' translation alongside the Jewish Aramaic versions. As we have seen however, recent work by Weitzman and Samely in the Aramaic versions has led them to limit the English term 'targum' to a particular—essentially Rabbinic⁹³—mode of bible translation which uniquely combines a high degree of 'word for word' translation with an often radical expansion of the Hebrew text.⁹⁴ If this latter, more narrowly conceived definition of 'targum' is to be adopted, it is suggested that the Qumran translation of Job might be more appropriately included with the Peshitta of Job under the rubric of 'Aramaic translation', leaving the title of 'targum' to its counterpart in the Rabbinic Aramaic translation tradition.⁹⁵

Septuagint=שבעים (התרגום) as well as the traditional Rabbinic Aramaic renderings of the Hebrew text, Weiss apparently felt the need to provide more specific information in his modern Hebrew title: התרגום הארמי לספר איוב.

⁹² Klaus Beyer, *Die Aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (1984), p. 273. One wonders whether the inclusion of the Qumran translations in the category 'targum' has perhaps prompted Beyer's wider definition of the term.

⁹³ A. Samely, 'Is Targumic Aramaic Rabbinic Hebrew?', p. 99, further limits his definition of 'targum' as being (among other things) '... based on rabbinic reading assumptions'.

⁹⁴ Although P. V. M. Flesher, 'The Targumim in the Context of Rabbinic Literature', in J. Neusner (ed.), *An Introduction to Rabbinic Literature* (1994), pp. 611–29, is correct both in his drawing of a distinction between the translation approach of the two targums of Job and in his characterisation of the 'Rabbinic' targum as somewhat similar to the Palestinian pentateuchal targums in its mixture of 'literal translation' and 'expansive material', his subsequent assessment of the 'Qumran' targum as 'highly literal with practically no additional material' would appear to require some revision in light of the present study.

⁹⁵ An excerpt from Celine Mangan's introduction (1992) to her excellent translation of the Rabbinic targum of Job (C. Mangan, *The Targum of Job*) suggests that terminology may not be irrelevant even in the scholarly reception of a given text. In the introduction to her translation, she suggests that if LXX Job's mention of a 'Syrian book of Job' refers to an '... aggadic elaboration rather than to a targum proper ... it shows that such midrashic elaborations were already connected with the Book of Job, as distinct from the Qumran targum which is surprisingly literal' (italics mine). While a reference to 11Q10 as 'literal' is not unexpected, the use of 'surprisingly' is, frankly, surprising. If in this case 'surprise' has involved a frustration of expectations, then we are entitled to enquire of Mangan as to where these expectations that the Qumran Aramaic text would contain midrashic or aggadic (i.e. Rabbinic) elaborations have come from? One suspects that the lack of midrashic and aggadic elaborations in the Qumran text would have been far less 'surprising' to Mangan had 11Q10 been known as simply the 'Qumran Aramaic translation of Job' rather than 'the Qumran Targum of Job'. While the recently published edition of 11Q10 (F. Martinez et al., *Qumran Cave 11*), and F. Martinez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated* (1994), 2nd edn, retain the official title '11QtargumJob' assigned by *Editio Princeps*, G. Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (1998), p. 431, provides a possible alternative when he assigns to 11Q10 the rubric '11Qar[amaic]Job' in his English translation of the DSS.

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